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HONORARY PRESIDENTS: *The Very Rev. Principal John Baillie, Sir Maurice Bowra, The Rev. T. Corbishley, S.J., Mr. James Crawford, The Right Hon. Isaac Foot, Mr. Tshekedi Khama, Professor Arthur Lewis, The Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, The Rev. Dr. W. E. Sangster, Rt. Rev. J. L. Wilson.*
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HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES Bechuanaland

Seretse Khama's Return¹

THOUSANDS gave Seretse Khama an enthusiastic welcome when he arrived on October 10 at Francistown air strip to end his six years' banishment from Bechuanaland. He was welcomed by the Divisional Commissioner Mr. J. F. Millard, and greeted by his uncle, Tshekedi Khama, and the "African Authority", Rasebolai Kgamane, and other senior members of the Bamangwato tribe.

Addressing a tribal kgotla after his return, Seretse explained his reasons for renouncing the chieftainship. His decision was unanimously accepted. He said: "I have promised the Government overseas that all I want is the advancement of my tribe. If there is anybody who says, 'We want you to be chief', I cannot accept. Let us forget the misunderstandings of the past. There has been a lot of trouble in the tribe, but we have seen our faults. We have renounced the chieftaincy, and we should think no more about it."

"The chieftainship has come at an end, and there is to be a different form of government. A new council is to be formed, of which Rasebolai will be head. You will be able to play your part in the government of the tribe."

While emphasizing that he was not quarrelling with the present position and urging that they must all work "as one team", he said:

"It is very difficult for a person in my position to renounce the chieftainship. I would not have done it if it was not the greatest step towards the advancement of the tribe and for the encouragement of unity in the territory."

A number of tribal leaders rose in turn to address the gathering. All expressed pleasure at Seretse's presence, and most said they were willing to continue to help Rasebolai. They praised the British Government for making the new arrangements and none voiced disagreement. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 19, 1956.)

After attending kgotlas in remote districts at all of which his decision was accepted, Seretse Khama returned to Serowe to meet his wife and children who joined him on November 1.

Comment from South Africa

The announcement that Seretse Khama would be returning to Bechuanaland as a private citizen, evoked editorial comment in the South African press. The *Transvaal* (September 27, 1956) said: "The mixed marriage is now justified. The highest person in the tribe can, provided he does not cause any trouble, provide an object lesson in

¹DIGEST IV, 2. Appendix.

miscegenation, with the approval of Downing Street, for his tribe (and the Protectorate natives in the Union). Officially the Union has nothing to do with it. This does not alter the fact, however, that mixed marriages are prohibited in the Union and that its approval in a territory so closely connected with the Union, and furthermore destined to be incorporated in the Union, upsets the public in the Union. It is disastrous that the British Government follows a policy in a neighbouring territory which conflicts with the policy of the Union."

The *Rand Daily Mail* (September 27, 1956) said that the specific cause of Seretse's banishment from his homeland "was always somewhat vague". Britain has no laws against mixed marriage and in her colonies and Protectorates there are only "unwritten rules" on the subject. If, therefore, Seretse's marriage influenced the decision to banish him, and it was never admitted that it did, he was done an injustice . . . But the fact remains that as long as Seretse and his wife live in Bechuanaland the seeds of trouble will be there. It is going to be extremely difficult for Khama's grandson to live in the territory as a private person, particularly since he will be an object of curiosity to the Native people throughout South Africa.

Mining Development

Negotiations between the Anglo-American Corporation and Bamangwato tribe in connexion with mineral development in the tribal area were reported in the *Daily Herald* (November 5, 1956). At the tribal kgotla in Serowe a chief admitted that the tribe had refused to grant a mining concession in Seretse Khama's absence.

The *Rand Daily Mail* commented: "If Bechuanaland is on the threshold of development as a mining territory, the position of Seretse and the Bamangwato's form of government look like becoming matters of secondary importance. Mines will bring technical men into the territory; they may even produce secondary industries. Moreover, they will bring money to the Bamangwato. They must, in time, change the economic condition of the territory and its whole status, and this seems to us far more important than any change in the system of government of the Bamangwato and its bearing on the Union."

Basutoland

Resident Commissioner takes up Appointment¹

THE new Resident Commissioner of Basutoland, Mr. A. G. T. Chaplin, and Mrs. Chaplin were welcomed at Maseru by the Government Secretary, heads of departments and members of the public. The largest crowd of Europeans ever seen at a ceremony of this nature was present. (*Johannesburg Sunday Times*, September, 1956.)

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

The Paramount Chieftainess, who was absent from the ceremony, and the principal chiefs have agreed to co-operate with Mr. Chaplin. She still adheres, however, to the resolution passed that no South African-born officer should be appointed, but she does not agree with the attitude adopted by some people who advocated non-cooperation. She also wishes it known that there is nothing personal against Mr. Chaplin. In fact, he is a friend held in high esteem by her and many Basutoland Chiefs and people. (Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, October, 1956.)

The Basutoland African Congress are continuing their opposition to Mr. Chaplin's appointment.

Water and Power Resources

A report submitted to the Basutoland Government claims that "enough water and power to serve Basutoland and the Orange Free State as well would be yielded if resources available in the Basutoland uplands were exploited. The rivers of the Basutoland mountain areas are a potential source of water and hydro-electric power. The Free State has a low rainfall with erratic rivers while Basutoland has a high rainfall and the rivers are far less erratic. Possible schemes of regional development are outlined and are described as "economically feasible". The main potential customer would be the Union of South Africa, says the report in discussing economic considerations. The economy of the scheme would have to be determined in relation to potential demand and costs in the Union. (*Pretoria News*, October, 1956.)

General

Protectorates Need to Know More About Apartheid

IF the Bantu inhabitants in the three Protectorates in Southern Africa knew exactly what the policy of the Union Government was, they would not object to transfer to South African control, said Mr. J. G. Strijdom, the Prime Minister, when he spoke to the Transvaal Congress of the Nationalist Party. He did not wish to say anything that would impede negotiations with the British Government, but as it was the clear intention at the time of Union that the Protectorates should at a later stage be transferred to the Union, the Government had a direct concern in them and could not remain indifferent about their future or what was done in the meantime. It would be a tragedy if a policy were applied which in essence differed from that carried out by the Union in its own Bantu areas.

Mr. Strijdom said: "I make bold to say that if the Bantu in the Protectorates knew exactly what our policy is, there would be no objection on their part to the transfer to the Union. In view of the direct interest which we have in the Protectorates, through the provisions of the South Africa Act of 1909, it is an urgent necessity that the Bantu in them should receive correct information on what our policy really is." (*Modern South Africa*,¹ November, 1956.)

Adviser on Economics Appointed

Sir Arthur Griffin, a former Rhodesian and Indian official has been appointed adviser on economic development to the High Commissioner for Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland.

When in the United Kingdom he will be available for consultations with the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

Sir Arthur Griffin retired from the post as Chairman of the Rhodesian Railways in 1954. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, September 12, 1956.)

¹Issued by South Africa House, London.

CENTRAL AFRICA

The Federation

Future Status of the Federation

THE AFRICA BUREAU issued the following Press statement on October 28, 1956. It said:

"Lord Home, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations is about to visit Central Africa where he is likely to be met with a demand for Dominion Status for the Federation and for constitutional changes affecting the Protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

"The Africa Bureau and associated Councils (from Birmingham, Cambridge, Cardiff, Darlington, Glasgow, Rugby, Sheffield and West Riding) call upon the Secretary of State to honour repeated assurances given by Lord Chandos, the Colonial Secretary, in 1953 that no constitutional changes in the direction of dominion status and affecting Britain's responsibilities towards the protectorates could be made by any government unless 'a numerical majority of the inhabitants are in favour of it'. He specifically included the African people in his definition of inhabitants."

The future status of the Federation has become a burning issue and has been discussed by many political leaders in the Federation.¹ Mr. Winston Field, leader of the Dominion Party, on his return from a visit to Britain said that as a result of his discussions there he was convinced that they could not get independence within any reasonable period of time. He felt that all sections of the Rhodesian public should collaborate to attain independence for the Federation within the Commonwealth well before the time permitted in the Constitution. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 4, 1956.)

Mr. Field also said: "I consider the attitude of the British Government and the declarations of the Labour Party in England release us from the terms of the White Paper whereby we are required to wait for revision until 1960." He added that the British interpretation of the White Paper was coupled with a promise given by the then Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (see Africa Bureau statement above) "which is couched in such terms as to make it obvious that we shall never get our full independence within the Commonwealth until the majority of all the inhabitants—not, as Lord Malvern has stated, in sincerity I believe, the majority of the voters—accept it. The fact that it is and will be an impossibility to find out the information wanted by Mr. Lyttelton, appears to have been overlooked". (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 12, 1956.)

The *Sunday Mail* (October 14, 1956) commented: "The Federation is by no means speaking from weakness. It has a powerful case and it can, if it wishes, place the British Government in an embarrassing position if it persists in refusing to see the justice of the Federation's claims . . . The people of this colony would never have agreed to Federation had it not been accepted at that time that the three territories would together advance to complete independence in reasonable time. . . . At no time was it suggested that a majority of the inhabitants—as opposed to a majority of the electorate—would have to approve a change in status. But it is obvious now that this is the interpretation the British Government is deliberately putting on the reference in the Constitution to 'when the inhabitants of the territories so desire'. . . . The Federation can easily find itself in almost exactly the same position as is the Union over the incorporation of the Protectorates. . . . Succeeding British

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

Governments have clung tenaciously to the stipulation about 'consultation' and after 46 years incorporation is as far away as ever. The Federation with a much stronger case will never submit to similar treatment. We believe that when the time is ripe, it will be able to force the hand of the British Government—and force it with right and justice on its side."

The *Rhodesia Herald* (October 13, 1956) commented: "Basically the solid front of white opinion in favour of independence already exists in the parties and among the people. With the exception of Colonial Office officials in the North there is no shade of white opinion which is not fearful of the consequence of the continuation of Colonial Office rule. . . ."

At the Federal Party congress Lord Malvern said that there must be continued pressure for independence in the federal sphere. He also said: "Although under the Constitution the U.K. Government might try to stop us doing something we wish to do, in practice they cannot make us do anything we do not wish to do." (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 14.) When opening a new hotel at Banket Lord Malvern said: "The Federation is not at the moment in the position of being able to take over its independence. We must be reasonable and not rush our fences. We must build up a much more powerful economic unit here first. . . . We must concentrate on growing—and growing the right way—until in the future we can take our independence when we want it." (*Sunday Mail*, October 7, 1956.)

At a Federal Party meeting at Rusape, Sir Roy Welensky said: "What we want to know is why we, who are fit for independent status and have proved it, should have it withheld." The economic progress of the Federation and the improvement this had brought to its people, both white and black, in their living standards was almost unequalled. What was the yardstick? Sir Roy said: "I am reluctant to have to draw the conclusion that we are being refused independent status solely on the grounds, whether valid or not, that the African people are against it." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 13, 1956.)

In a letter to the *Rhodesia Herald* (October 18, 1956) Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock said that the answer to Sir Roy's question was simple. . . . The essential pre-condition to the grant of independence must be "representative government". This implied "if not immediate universal adult suffrage, at any rate the enfranchisement of a large majority of the adult population. From long and bitter experience this has been found necessary to healthy development and social stability in a modern State. It must now be regarded as the sign of adulthood in a nation. . . . In the franchise law to be enacted it would surely be possible for the government thus at once to achieve the necessary condition for independence, the esteem of the world and the confidence of the large majority of the population of Central Africa."

Sir Roy Welensky also said at Broken Hill that the Federal Government would have to go to the people to decide what step to take next, if the British Government did not recognize that the Federation had a reasonable claim for an early change in the Constitution. He said: "The present state of affairs is a very serious reflection on a loyal British State. We who live in Africa know how much the African has advanced since the advent of the European. We are also aware how far he still has to go. What always struck me as so illogical in the thinking of the Griffiths and the Dribergs of this world is the fact that we do have an all-African State run by black men for black men, but the State, Liberia, is the most backward in Africa." Sir Roy said the reception to Lord Malvern's plea for some change in the Constitution would give people in the Federation "some idea of what lies ahead of us".

"Southern Rhodesia has had responsible Government for 32

years and earned the right to be considered an adult member of the Commonwealth. But this is not the basis on which the question is going to be settled. We are going to be told that the African people are against the granting of independence and therefore we cannot have it. You already know that the Gold Coast has been promised independence by March, in spite of the fact that large areas were against it. But that does not matter because it is to be an all-black State and Government, and good government is not of major consequence. Bribery and corruptive practices do not matter. What happens to the people of the Ashanti and the Northern territories in the unitary State that is to be given independence is of no consequence.

"You have also seen the attitude of the British Labour Party on this matter (of independence). I personally am not unduly worried by it. It leaves me cold. I have found that when the Labour Party was in office and came up against hard facts of life, they sang a different tune. It was a Labour Party Secretary of State that agreed to the first meetings that led to Federation. In my long life of many battles with Conservative and Labour Secretaries of State, I got more out of the Socialists than I got out of the Tories. However, we must recognize that we entered into an agreement and as honourable men and women we intend to keep it.

"But we feel entitled to point out to the British Government that the circumstances at the time of Federation have changed out of all recognition, and we want these changed circumstances to be taken into consideration. I refer quite clearly to the events of the Gold Coast, which have passed from a completely official Government to independence in a decade, whereas we have had responsible Government in a very large area of the Federation for a generation. Yet we are not fit for independence. I am not bitter about this, nor do I resent the Gold Coast obtaining its independence if they are considered fit for it." (*Federation Newsletter*, October 20, 1956.)

In an interview before his departure (which was later postponed owing to the international crisis) Lord Home said that he would not be bringing any proposals about the future status of the Federation, but that he hoped to continue exploratory talks. "I shall listen to any views that may be expressed. . . . What we have been doing so far is to canvass possibilities and to exchange views." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 23, 1956.)

The Northern Rhodesian African National Congress said that the recent interpretation of the preamble to the Federal Constitution by the Prime Minister did not surprise Africans who were and still are opposed to the creation of the Federation. The suggestion that the word "inhabitants" did not include Africans was only one of a series of insults "that Africans are being forced to stomach". Others include (i) Rejection of the Yamba motions,¹ (ii) rejection of the Chirwa motion about higher agricultural training, (iii) rejection of the Moffat motion about a multi-racial community², (iv) passing of the discriminatory Cadet Corps Act and Military Training Act,³ (v) the refusal to employ Africans as shunters and conductors on the Rhodesian railways,⁴ (vi) the restriction of African leaders to their Protectorates by the S. and N. Rhodesian Governments,⁵ (vii) the introduction of the "horribly racial" Federal Civil Service.⁶ (*A.N.C. Circular*, August, 1956.)

Mr. C. C. Strong, a former adviser to the American delegation to the U.N., now an American consul, said in Salisbury: "If and when the Federation achieves some sort of independence, the U.K. would obviously be obliged to cease sending information (to the U.N. about the non-self-governing territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasa-

¹DIGEST III, 3.
⁴DIGEST III, 5.

²DIGEST III, 3.
³DIGEST IV, 2.

⁵DIGEST III, 3.
⁶DIGEST IV, 2.

land) and this would almost certainly lead to debate. . . . If the Federation continues to make progress towards the goal it has set itself, it could be a sympathetic debate." (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 15, 1956.)

Lord Malvern Retires

After twenty-three years as Prime Minister, Lord Malvern (formerly Sir Godfrey Huggins) resigned as Prime Minister of the Federation on October 31. His unbroken twenty years of office as a Prime Minister has not been equalled by any other Prime Minister in the Commonwealth. In a tribute to Lord Malvern, Lord Salisbury referred to his "courage, vision, a robust common sense and above all a simplicity of mind that pierces through non-essentials. . . ." (*The Times*, November 1, 1956.)

The Times commented: "It is too soon to say yet how his last and biggest enterprise, the Federation, will fare. He would not have it judged in the short run. But his greatest service to Central Africa has surely been to keep it out of the South African orbit—paradoxically, for he began as an active supporter of the movement for joining the Union. Since then he has steadily, cautiously, and almost stealthily drawn away from the Union; more markedly in the last year or two. He is often judged rather superficially here as a reactionary in racial policy. The judgment is hardly, in its context, accurate. He is not quite a liberal either; but he has always kept the door ajar for liberal ideas. He has enjoyed a fine, full life; not romantic or heroic, like Rhodes or Lugard, but no less serviceable as an engineer of the Commonwealth."

Sir Roy Welensky, who succeeded Lord Malvern as Prime Minister, announced a reshuffle in the Federal Cabinet as follows: Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Defence, Sir Roy Welensky. Finance and Posts, Mr. D. Macintyre. Agriculture, Health and Public Service, Mr. J. M. Caldicott. Power and Home Affairs, Sir Malcolm Barrow. Law and Education, Mr. J. M. Greenfield. Commerce and Industry, Mr. F. S. Owen. Transport and Works, Mr. W. H. Eastwood.

Kariba

The Governor of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Peveril William-Powlett, visited the Batunka area which will be flooded as a result of the Kariba hydro-electric scheme.¹ He said that the one thing that impressed him greatly was that the people who were to leave the areas "are in no way despondent about it. . . . On the contrary they seem to be glad to be going because the land they are on at the moment is very poor indeed and they can hardly scratch a living on it. . . ." (*Federation Newsletter*, September 22, 1956.)

The Southern Rhodesian Government is allowing a minimum tax-free period of two years for Africans being moved out of the Kariba area. In addition 3,000 bags of maize have been sent to the area for distribution to dispossessed Africans until they have reaped the first crops on their new lands, and something like £80,000 has been spent on roads and tracks so that they could be moved by motor transport. The Southern Rhodesian Government has to evacuate about 22,000 people. In every case it is stated that the land to which they are being moved was more fertile than the areas they were leaving.

The Northern Rhodesian Government is to pay a total of £330,000 as personal compensation for "loss of material and valuable assets" to the 28,500 Africans to be moved from the north side of the Zambezi. In addition to this individual compensation, compensation for the tribe, to an amount still to be decided by negotiation, will be paid to cover hardship and inconvenience through being compelled to

move, with the loss of tribal rights and chieftainship rights. Each N. Rhodesia evacuee will be paid cash to buy 250 lb. of mealie meal—enough to keep one person going for 6 months. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 27, 1956.)

The African labour force at Kariba exceeds 4,000 of whom about 2,000 come from Nyasaland. Workers are recruited on a two year basis with all fares paid and a free uniform. An ordinary labourer earns over £6 per month. African labour is now being recruited from Bechuanaland and Portuguese East Africa because "unfounded rumours about the conditions on the dam site are slowing up the supply of workers from Nyasaland, the main recruiting centre" (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 29, 1956.)

Political Fusion

The annual congress of the Federal Party rejected a resolution for a merger with the United Rhodesia (S. Rhodesia) party and accepted instead a proposal adopting the principle of fusion and authorizing the party President (Sir Roy Welensky) to continue negotiations with the President of the United Party, Mr. Garfield Todd, Prime Minister of S. Rhodesia. In so doing the congress heard the advice of Lord Malvern, who said: "It rather appears that the main motive for wanting to merge is to try to increase the influence S. Rhodesia has on Federal policies." He also opposed a merger because if there were only one political party operating in both federal and territorial fields, the Federal Government would automatically be blamed for anything in the Native Policy of Southern Rhodesia at which criticism could be directed; whereas the Federal Government had no responsibility whatsoever for Native administration in any of the territories. Lord Malvern said that he would revise his opinion if a means could be found by which policy on "exclusive" matters could not be dictated by either side to the other. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 14 and 17, 1956.)

Commenting on the proposal as "the desire for a united stand to counter any threat from the Dominion Party at the next elections", *The Nyasaland Times* (September 28, 1956) added: "It is sound political tactics in the two Rhodesias, but we are not sure Nyasaland would greet this merger, if it came about, with great enthusiasm. There would be suspicion here, not of the two parties, but of the personalities involved. . . . We must be told who is going to be master in the the Federal house if this proposed wedding takes place."

East Africa and Rhodesia (November 8, 1956) reported that Mr. G. F. M. van Eeden, Federal M.P. for Kafue, has dissolved the Commonwealth Party, which he led, and has joined the Dominion Party. In December 1955, Mr. van Eeden formed the Commonwealth Party by merging himself and his supporters with the Confederate Party.

Police Powers in the Federation

The Federal Party congress resolved that it was vital that the responsibility for law and order should become a Federal Government responsibility immediately, and that until this came about, the training of police recruits should become a Federal responsibility. Most of the debate was held in committee and could not be fully reported. (*Sunday Mail*, September 16, 1956.)

The Nyasaland Times (September 21, 1956) commented: "It would perhaps be asking a great deal if the three territorial police forces were to be submerged into one Federal force. . . . It might not be advantageous to the Federation. . . . But it is certainly necessary to establish greater liaison, something in the nature of a joint command which can deal with incidents against law and order

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

anywhere in the Federation instantaneously, using the maximum deployment of forces."

Reaction to Labour Party Statements

Commenting on the election of Mr. A. Bevan as treasurer of the British Labour Party, the *Rhodesia Herald* (October 4, 1956) said that when the Labour Party was returned to power as it may well be in 4 years' time or less . . . the white man in Africa, and in other parts of the Commonwealth, will find what it means to be "vermin" and "despicable colonial exploiters". One of the biggest dangers is that if he once gets off home affairs and concentrates on the colonies, his intemperate diatribes—largely discounted by the British public—may be taken seriously by the indigenous peoples of Africa and stir up considerable trouble here. At the least they would provide inflammable fuel for the agitators. If the inordinate ambitions of the extremists are not to be curbed even for the sake of their own countries, Mr. Bevan will have to exercise an unaccustomed restraint. The despised "white settlers" may not take the modern Wizard of Wales lying down, but they had better start preparing for turbulence ahead.

In a broadcast to Rhodesia, Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P., said that the transitional period from multi-racialism or partnership to full democracy could not be allowed to drag out indefinitely. "The Colonial Office still has control in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and we should certainly hang on until we have established the attitudes and democratic forms in those two colonies, that would enable us to feel that any handing over of power completely safeguarded democratic principle. If you are a democrat you must look eventually to the enjoyment of full democracy as an inalienable human right by every human being in the world, and we simply can't, therefore, compromise on our ultimate aim of adult franchise for all peoples of all races in our colonial territories. But we do recognize that in these areas there are European minorities who have made a great contribution, and still have a great contribution to make in the economic and social development of these countries, through their 'know how' and administrative experience, and we have got to face the transitional period in which we shall move steadily through multiracialism or partnership to full democracy."

In a comment on this broadcast the *Sunday Mail* (October 21, 1956) said it was proof of the cloud-cuckoo land in which the British Labour Party dwells. It would be a good thing if some of the people who expounded Labour Party doctrine to the world studied their book a little more closely. They would find that discrimination was something which worked two ways, and that if they abolished discrimination in, for instance, the distribution of land, 96 per cent of Northern Rhodesia, reserved for black men because they were black, would cease to be so reserved. . . . In the Labour Party vocabulary there was only one kind of discrimination—something that was practised by a European against a non-European.

Novelist Banned

Mrs. Doris Lessing, the novelist, was declared a prohibited immigrant by the Federal Government. Mrs. Lessing, who has also been banned from entering the Union, lived in Southern Rhodesia for 25 years and left there in 1949. She visited Central Africa in May of this year to visit her family and friends and to collect material for newspaper articles. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 2, 1956.)

Inter-Racial Education

Dr. Walter Adams, the principal of the University College of

Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said that if the University authorities were convinced that it was the sincere wish of the whole student body that there would be no mixing of the races in the social life of the University, this wish would be respected. "We would not wish to influence them or change their development." But he anticipated the reverse. "We are creating facilities pointing towards the greatest unity of activities. I think the tendency would be for a demand for common residences rather than for separate activities," Dr. Adams said. "Any move we make would be to stiffen up the entrance qualifications. The response we have had from the schools means we need not fear that students wanting what we can offer will go south." (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 5, 1956.)

Addressing a Women's Meeting in Salisbury, Canon Bryan Green from Birmingham, made an appeal to Christian mothers to open their homes to educated and cultured Africans. "It may not be for years," he said, "but as the opportunity opens I hope that Christian mothers will be the first to seize it and set a great example to the world." (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 20, 1956.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (September 24, 1956) said that the University College would get off to a good start. Now that first fears and doubts had been removed and the stage was being set for the opening of the University, the next problem would come when the first batch of African students completed their courses and began to earn their living.

Much would depend on what happened when these men took their place in public life. Obviously, several years must elapse before this happened, but in the interim mental adjustments would have to be made by the public. It would be better to deny Africans a university education altogether than to give them one and then begrudge them their right to put it to good and profitable use. Thinking and attitudes must be moulded over the next few years to ensure that the African leaders of the future did not in the end suffer frustration and embitterment.

Trade Developments

After four years of geological survey the Rio Tinto Mining Group have formed three new Central African Companies with a capital backing of £1,350,000. (*Central African Post*, September 19, 1956.)

The Federation's trade balance with the rest of the world for the first half of 1956 showed a credit of nearly £18 million compared with just under £10 million for the similar period in 1955.

Federal Citizenship

Mr. Julius Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law, in an article in *Federal Outlook* (September), discussed two lines of approach to the new Federal Citizenship law. Federal citizenship could be confined to persons who are British subjects by virtue of Southern Rhodesia citizenship or citizenship of another part of the Commonwealth, together with any British protected persons who elect to become British subjects. The alternative would be for all lawful inhabitants of the Federation who are British subjects or British protected persons to become citizens of the Federation, but the latter category would still remain protected persons.

The first alternative would not embrace the vast majority of inhabitants, as protected persons *en masse* would probably not elect to shed their status in favour of Federal citizenship. The second alternative would not fit in with the Commonwealth pattern and Southern Rhodesia would therefore probably not agree to the repeal of her law unless Commonwealth countries were prepared to continue to recognize Southern Rhodesia citizens, who exchanged that status for Federal citizenship, as British subjects. But if it could be achieved

it would have the great advantage of the Federal citizenship law embracing the vast majority of the inhabitants of the country.

Northern Rhodesia

State of Emergency Continues¹

DESPITE the ending of strikes and disturbances, the State of Emergency declared on the Copperbelt on September 11 is still maintained.

The *Central African Post* (September 17, 1956) described the scene as armoured cars and about 100 African troops with their European officers marched in battle order with drums beating through each town in the emergency area "to show the flag". Nearly seventy people were detained and arrested during the first five days of the emergency. Four armoured cars were brought up from Southern Rhodesia to tour the Copperbelt towns.

By the end of September, all mines on the Copperbelt were working normally and there had been a complete response to the appeal of Mr. L. Katilungu, the president of A.M.U., and Paramount Chief Chitimukulu, of the Bemba, for a return to work. Mr. Katilungu said that the union must take a new line, and have a new approach to grievances. "I have watched the union grow for eight years and I do not want to see it die. . . . We must seek negotiation and arbitration to achieve our aims." He appealed to the Government and the Chamber of Mines to listen to the mineworkers' grievances and to co-operate with the union. He said that without the union, the African miners would remain without leadership, and without that the good relationship which they must aim at would be very difficult to achieve. Referring to the suggestion that an adviser to the union should be appointed by the Government, he said that such a proposal would be met with strong opposition by the union; a more acceptable plan to keep the union on a sure footing would be to send officials overseas to see how the unions were run there. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 20, 22, 28, 1956.)

After the declaration of the State of Emergency, the Acting Labour Commissioner said that his department had taken steps to safeguard the Union's assets and protect the interests of its members. He added: "As the detention of the Union leaders must inevitably deprive its members of those individuals who have been accustomed to represent them in negotiations with employers, steps will be taken immediately to set up machinery to ensure that all workers have adequate means of negotiating. . . ." (*Central African Post*, September 9, 1956.)

The *Central African Post* (September 17, 26, October 5, 1956) reported that the forty-odd detained members of the African Mineworkers' Union were detained at Mumbwa prison, 120 miles from Lusaka and well away from the emergency area (about 330 miles from the nearest Copperbelt town). The detainees were given a channel through which to voice their objections about their detention; a three-man committee appointed by the Governor, and consisting of the Senior Resident Magistrate in N. Rhodesia, the Vice-President of the Rhodesia Farmers' Union, and the African President of the Lusaka Urban Native Court. The detainees could smoke and receive newspapers; they need not wear prison dress unless they tried to escape. They could have up to three visitors up to three times a week, and could also be visited by a lawyer. They could write and receive one letter a week, subject to censorship, and would be informed if the letter had been stopped. If they committed

any offence while under detention, their punishment could be anything from a reduced diet to solitary confinement.

Comment from Abroad

Replying to questions from Mr. J. Johnson, M.P. (Labour), and Mr. S. Swingler, M.P. (Labour), in the house of Commons (October 31, 1956), the Colonial Secretary said that in addition to forty-five members of A.M.U. who had been detained, six other union officials had been removed in custody to their tribal areas to which they were restricted. The families of eighteen officials vacated their houses on request, and were either taken to their homes in the tribal areas at Government expense or found other accommodation outside the mining companies' location. He added that financial assistance had been given where necessary. Mr. Lennox-Boyd added: "The Acting Governor is still considering how best to bring the emergency to an end without risk of further unrest. . . . I also hope that the emergency can be brought to an end. But trade union officials have no rights outside the law which are not open to other people; nor can I hold out any hope that the emergency can be declared at an end until it has been found possible to evolve other methods of trying to prevent its recurrence."

The executive of the Scottish branch of the National Mineworkers' Union sent a resolution to the Colonial Secretary calling for an ending of the State of Emergency, and for the immediate release of the arrested Africans. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 9, 1956.)

Writing to the *Manchester Guardian* (November 13, 1956), Mr. G. Philip Robinson, chairman of the Manchester District Council for African Affairs, said that the legislation contemplated by the N. Rhodesian Government "to banish leaders and forbid them to hold office for specific periods, is clearly modelled on that of the Nationalist Government in South Africa. Even more sinister is the possibility that the North Rhodesian Government will bring in further legislation to prevent certain Africans from ever holding official positions in the Mineworkers' Union again. The personal banning of men from trade union offices is quite incompatible with the principles of freedom which we have developed in Britain."

In a letter to *Peace News* (October 5, 1956), Mr. I. Geffen, chairman of the Tyneside Africa Council, said that many people suspected that the declaration of the State of Emergency on the Copperbelt was "part of a campaign to destroy the main African trade union and political organizations in the territory. . . . Britain has a particular responsibility in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In both, we have every reason to fear that the promise of full consideration for the interests of the (still largely disfranchised) African majority may be broken unless there is constant pressure in this country for its fulfilment."

The *Observer* correspondent reported (November 4, 1956) that some leading officials of the union, including Matthew Nkoloma, the general secretary, looked like being kept away from the mining region and out of their union jobs for a year at least. A special Bill was to be introduced to restrict movements of union officials held to be trouble-makers; other legislation might be introduced prohibiting some Africans from ever again holding jobs in the Mineworkers' Union.

Three South African Cabinet Ministers referred to the industrial unrest and compared it unfavourably with South Africa under apartheid. Mr. Schoeman, Minister of Transport, said that South African Natives had no trade unions and were more industrialized; there was industrial peace and the Natives were satisfied. The Native did not have a tradition of trade unions. The Rhodesian strikes were significant since they had a political purpose.

¹DIOEST IV, 2.

In Johannesburg, the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured People's Organization, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, issued a joint statement protesting against the State of Emergency.

Evidence to Commission of Inquiry¹

In a memorandum of evidence submitted to the Branigan Commission of Inquiry into industrial unrest of the Copperbelt, the mining companies claimed that the African Mineworkers' Union had been used "as a tool for the attainment of their political, nationalistic and racialistic objects" by the African National Congress, "an organization outside the mining industry". They added that the unrest in the industry, "while ostensibly industrial in origin, is in reality an essential and important part of an African nationalistic political movement which if allowed to proceed will disrupt the Federal economy, and make impossible both in general the practical development of the partnership on which the Federal constitution is based and also in particular the advancement of Africans in the mining industry". (*Central African Post*, October 1, 1956.)

Mr. W. G. Trollip, Q.C., for the mining companies, said that leadership of the union was mainly in the hands of full-time paid officials, of whom there were eleven, and several of them had never worked in the industry itself. Many of these officials were also members or officials of A.N.C.

Cross-examined by Mr. Katilungu, the president of A.M.U., Mr. J. Scrivener, Group African Affairs Adviser to Rhodesian Anglo-American, said: "I haven't got any faith in the ability of the African masses to make decisions—they are largely swayed by what is pumped into them." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 4, 1956.)

Mr. Trollip quoted figures which showed that more than two-thirds of the African mineworkers subject to compulsory conversion to monthly pay under the companies' advancement scheme had accepted it voluntarily. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 9, 1956.)

The Commission issued a statement deprecating very strongly public references to matters which were *sub judice*. This occurred after Mr. Harry Nkumbula had referred in public to the allegations linking the A.N.C. with the union and to Mr. Trollip's handling of the case. Mr. Katilungu said that these comments were "very unfortunate". He expressed the fear that they might be taken as evidence of a close link between the union and congress, whereas it was merely the opinion of an individual. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 10, 1956.)

Mr. J. F. Purvis, president of the European Mineworkers' Union, said that the companies' suggestion that the number of paid officials in any trade union should be limited to a defined number was "unwarranted interference". Mr. Purvis said: "It is repugnant to a trade unionist to have any body or any man tell him who he should appoint or what his qualifications should be." The cancelling of the registration of the union as suggested by the companies would not bring strikers back to work. Stating his union's policy about politics, Mr. Purvis said it was extremely difficult to draw a definite line. The union was interested in legislation which would have a direct or indirect effect on its members, but it would have no part in politics "in the sense of political parties and all that is associated with political elections". (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 17, 1956.)

African Congress Meets

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, President of the N. Rhodesian African National Congress, told the delegates to its annual conference that

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

both Europeans and Africans suspected his newly declared policy of peace and co-operation.¹ He blamed both sides for their "complete ignorance" of the racial picture. Africans had not understood the intentions of the Europeans and had only recently stopped treating them as "passers-by". On the other hand most Europeans treated the African as if he was an animal in the London Zoo. He added that if the Europeans were not prepared to allow the African to advance, he failed to see how blacks and whites could continue to live together in Northern Rhodesia. "I cannot help seeing a day of strife. If the attitude of the Europeans to hold the Africans back continues, no one should blame us when we work for an entire African government. This will be the last resort after everything possible to get the co-operation of the Europeans has been tried and has failed."

The conference passed resolutions which called on the Government to implement before the end of 1956 the report of the Committee on racial discrimination.²

Decided to send a delegation to Britain soon to meet members of the Labour Party, and invite them to visit the Territory "to see partnership in action".

Agreed that in view of Lord Malvern's attempt to advance the status of the Federal Government before the constitutional review of 1960-63, the British Government should be asked to consider the secession of N. Rhodesia and that the delegation should campaign in Britain against "the unwarranted move by the white settler element in Central Africa".

Asked the Secretary of State to initiate constitutional changes, to consider the enfranchisement of British Protected Persons and give Africans parity of representation in the next Legislative and Executive Council.

Recorded that no sign of goodwill or act of faith had come from the Government or the commercial community in response to the offer of full co-operation made by the Congress's headquarters officials.

In a reference to the State of Emergency in the Western Province, which he described as "absolutely unnecessary", Mr. Nkumbula said: "Those men, women and children on whom tear gas bombs are being dropped, not to mention those who are detained, shall never forget the tragedy and shall always remember the occasion with a sense of fear, bitterness and hatred." Later he added: "If we ask the Government to lift the State of Emergency we must do it in a spirit of request. We must not antagonize the Government which has the power to keep on the emergency as long as it likes merely to show its strength." Mr. Nkumbula also warned delegates against taking back copies of his presidential address to the Copperbelt until the emergency was over. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 9, 10, 11, 1956.)

The Executive of the Congress asked Mr. Leslie Blackwell, Q.C., a former South African judge, to revise its constitution. Mr. Blackwell had been briefed to defend Congress members in a number of cases and had done so successfully. (*Central African Post*, September 17, 1956.)

In the High Court at Lusaka, Mr. Blackwell appeared for Mr. F. Chitambala, provincial general secretary of Congress, who was appealing against a jail sentence of six months. The appeal was dismissed on a technical point. Mr. Blackwell said that the laws under which Chitambala had been found guilty were not laws at all and were not worth the paper on which they were written. He added that he intended to take the case to the Supreme Court at Salisbury on appeal, and said: "May I point out one difficulty. These people

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

²DIGEST III, 8.

(Congress members) are not allowed into Southern Rhodesia." (*Central African Post*, October 1, 1956.)

T.U.C. and Constitution

The Trade Union Congress of Northern Rhodesia issued the following statement through Mr. Dixon Konkola, its president: "The principle of elective representation in the Legislative Council should be fully accepted, except for the presence of no more than four officials. The principle of reserved seats for racial minorities is accepted by the T.U.C., but it is also considered desirable that there should be parity between the numbers elected to non-reserved seats on the one hand and those from reserved seats and officials on the other. It is not desired that alignment in the Legislative Council should be on purely racial lines. Candidature for the non-reserved seats will be open to members of any race, and in any case it is envisaged that more than one African political party will develop and voting on specific matters will be in terms of value to the country as a whole.

"It is extremely difficult at this stage to make a decision on the numbers of reserved seats that will be required, and this under the principle of parity governs the number of non-reserved seats. As a first stage to any discussion on this point, and to the definition of constituency boundaries it is considered vital that, as is proposed for Tanganyika, there should be a full census of all races immediately. Such a census should be carried out under the eyes of independent observers from the United Kingdom.

"*Executive Council:* Following from the enlargement of the Legislative Council the T.U.C. considers that the composition of the Executive Council should be amended as follows:

3 official members only

(The Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General, Financial Secretary)

3 reserved-seat members of the Legislative Council

(Holding portfolios of Public Health, Mines, Public Works)

4 non-reserved members of the Legislative Council

(Holding portfolios of Land, Education, Labour and Agriculture—Veterinary—Forestry)

"*Franchise:* The T.U.C. holds very strongly that the time has come for the introduction of the Common Roll for all Legislative Council elections, based on universal adult franchise, regardless of race, at the age of 21 years, and this franchise should be open to all British Protected persons and British citizens. It is opposed to all disqualifications except those of mental ill-health.

"The delineation of constituencies will follow from the results of the census, which will also determine where reserved seats for the representation of European and Asian minorities are required. We envisage, and we welcome the prospect of, Europeans and Asians in the future standing for, and on occasion winning these seats on what will admittedly be a largely African vote; we emphasize that we wish them to be open to candidates on merit alone, and regardless of race.

"*Qualifications of Candidates* should be:

"(1) A candidate must qualify as a voter.

"(2) He must either be the child of a person indigenous to the country, or have resided for five years within the last six in the territory.

"(3) He must be both able and willing to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown.

"(4) He must be nominated by no less than 25 registered voters.

"(5) A deposit of £50 must be made in his name, which will be forfeited if he fails to receive a specific proportion of the votes cast. (It is necessary to point out here that the T.U.C. has in the past opposed

the principle of a deposit for candidates to office within the Northern Rhodesian African Congress, but the principle is different when applied to Parliamentary elections.)

"*General:* In putting forward these proposals the T.U.C. wishes to make the following clear:

"(1) That its wholehearted opposition to the Federation is unabated and that it looks on these proposals as an interim step to an independent Northern Rhodesian legislature, based on true partnership between the races. And

"(2) That the concentration of the above proposals on the means of government at the centre in no way indicates a loss in interest in democratic development at the local and district level, since the T.U.C. is determined to press equally for democratic reforms in this vital field.

"The T.U.C. is under no illusions as to the opposition that these proposals, moderate though they are will arouse among the European community. It therefore urges strongly that an independent all-party Commission be sent from the United Kingdom to sound opinion in the country at all levels and to determine the justice of our case."

African Wage Rates

The Labour Department, in a half-yearly survey covering some 20,000 African workers, reported a continuing upward trend in African wages. Some African bricklayers, artisans, drivers and clerical workers were earning over £50 a month: 11 per cent of bricklayers, as compared with 6 per cent in 1955, were earning over £15 a month, while more than half were earning between £10 and £15 a month. Somewhat similar figures applied to carpenters and drivers. (*Central African Post*, August 29, 1956.)

About 5 per cent of African workers were still earning no more than 50s. a month. Domestic workers, such as garden boys, made up almost the whole of this lowest wage group. (*Manchester Guardian*, September 13, 1956.)

On the Copperbelt the gap between the lowest paid European and the highest paid African is narrowing. The European Handman's wage, with bonus, is £115. 11s. 2d. per month; while that of an African sub-development cleaner—a new post under the advancement scheme—is £50. 15s. (*A.F.P.*, October 26, 1956.)

In a comment on the upward trend, the *Central African Post* (August 29, 1956) said: "The very least it means is any sort of threat to the European. But let us be realistic and point out that it should become a spur—even a warning—to the rising generation of Rhodesians that the day when their colour alone gives them the right to automatically demand more than an African employed in similar work, is coming to an end. A higher-earning African working class will bring prosperity to Northern Rhodesia and all its races quicker than anything else. . . ."

Land Policy

The Legislative Council approved a provisional agreement with the British South Africa Company under which the Company relinquishes its right to a 50 per cent share in all land revenues and power royalties in return for an annual fixed payment of £50,000 from the Government until 1965. During the discussion the acting Chief Secretary (Mr. R. Nicholson) said: "Throughout the negotiations they (the Company) showed a keenness to assist this country by encouraging the head lease system and relieving Government of a great deal of administrative effort."

Mr. John Roberts, Member for Lands, Health and Local Government, said that there was ample land still available for alienation. One million acres of it was township land, and there was a further

3 million acres of Crown land available for agricultural purposes, in addition to just under 3 million already alienated. (*Central African Post*, October 5, 1956.)

The Council also approved an extension of the head lease system which gives local authorities an almost free hand in granting plots.

Subsequently European members of the Legislative Council expressed the opinion that the Government should dispense with the system of 99 year lease on all land, both agricultural and urban, in favour of a freehold system or, at least, a 999 year leasehold. Mr. W. F. Rendall, M.L.C. for Ndola, sounded a note of caution. "The difficulty in a protectorate," he said, "is that the Africans maintain that all the land belongs to them. You have to be very careful what you are doing and saying." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 19, 1956.)

Power from Belgian Congo

Three months ahead of schedule the Le Marinel hydro-electric power station on the Lualaba River above Stanleyville has begun to supply power to Kitwe in the Copperbelt. The power station is owned by the Union Minière de Haut Katanga, which operates the Belgian Congo copper mines and the new system, which necessitated the laying of 320 miles of high voltage cable, is controlled by the Rhodesia-Congo Border Power Corporation in which the two big N. Rhodesian copper companies—the Rhodesian Selection Trust and the Anglo-American Company—are represented.

The completion of the link in just over three years will help six major mines to face the shortage of power from the coal-operated power plants in the Territory, but it will not mean any significant decline in the dependence of the mines on coal. (*Manchester Guardian*, September 25, 1956, and *A.F.P.*, October 2, 1956.)

Governor's Opinion of Africans

In a speech in London, Sir Arthur Benson, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, said that in the Federation the Africans fell into three groups. There was the great primitive mass, almost untouched by education or industrialization. At the other end of the scale was the handful of genuine educated African gentlemen. Between these two groups were the "Al Capones of Africa—outright crooks", men with a warped veneer of civilization. We found this type in England and America; it should not be surprising to find them in Africa. Sir Arthur added that he thought that at least 95 per cent of the Africans were not yet ready for the vote, even at municipal or territorial level. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, September 27, 1956.)

Southern Rhodesia

State of Emergency and Railway Strike

THE Governor of Southern Rhodesia proclaimed a State of Emergency because of a threatened strike of African employees of the Rhodesian Railways. The Government had previously declared the strike illegal. The strike was generally regarded to be ineffective with the exception of Bulawayo. The State of Emergency was lifted four days later, after some African workers had returned to work on the terms offered by the railway company. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 24, 29, 1956.)

The strike followed dissatisfaction with the wage increase granted as a result of the award and the joint recommendations of an arbitration tribunal, set up under Northern Rhodesian law, and a special industrial council set up under Southern Rhodesian law. The findings were binding on both the Railways Administration and employees in both territories.

The increases varied from 12s. 6d. a month to £27 a year according to rank. Family and ration allowances were also increased. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 21, 1956.)

The award represented about 24 per cent increase in wages and would cost the country £350,000.

Mr. K. T. T. Maripe, general secretary of the Railway African Workers Union, said the Africans were far from satisfied with the pay awards, which represented about an eighth of what they asked. He said that a conference of African railway workers at Broken Hill in July had decided that they would not accept less than half what they were asking for.

Mr. Maripe added: "The Africans had decided that from midnight on September 23 they will withdraw their labour for a period to be decided later. You can describe it as a protest strike." It would almost certainly last for five days only.

He said that the Africans' main objection to the wage was that it seemed to have been worked out to benefit as few workers as possible. The larger awards were for categories in which there were only a few Africans or in some cases none at all. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 22, 1956.)

When the strike was on, about 5,300 Africans in Bulawayo were affected. Police used tear gas to break up a gathering of more than 2,000 striking Africans and arrested nine men, including the general secretary of the African Railway Workers' Union, Mr. Maripe, and the acting president Mr. M. A. Ndabambi. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 26, 1956.)

Later the Railways Administration stated that any African wishing to re-engage in railway service could do so at the starting rate of the grade in which he was accepted.

Nearly all those signed off elected to re-engage—at the lower rate. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 28, 1956.)

In a report to Parliament, Mr. Garfield Todd, the Prime Minister, said that public opinion overseas had a very wrong opinion of what constituted a State of Emergency in Southern Rhodesia, and they were wrong in coupling the recent emergency in Southern Rhodesia with those in Cyprus, Malaya and Kenya.

Recalling the events leading up to the strike, he said it was obvious that leaders of the Railway African Workers' Union, in making wage demands, had pitched their demands so high that it would be difficult for them to draw back without losing a lot of prestige. The method they chose to maintain their prestige was strike action. From the time they put forward their wage demands it was quite obvious they could not be met.

The Public Order Act passed by Parliament last year was provided for such a purpose as it had just been used. It was because of the State of Emergency that the strike had gone off half-cock—not because the strike was badly organized or because union leaders were not prepared for it.

Mr. H. H. C. Holderness, M.P., said the declaration of the State of Emergency had justified the fears expressed by Members concerned with legal matters when the Public Order Act was debated last year. They had feared that by putting certain powers into the Act "you give people a sort of slap-happy idea about making use of them". (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 6, 1956.)

Riot at Harari

A riot broke out on September 17 in the African township of Harari in Salisbury. Tear gas was used; more than 200 police, African and European, were on the scene armed with shields and batons. An African girl in a girls' hostel which was attacked and overrun by the rioters was stabbed; and numbers of people were

injured and buildings burnt. Thirty-three rioters were arrested and charged with rape and various forms of public violence.

Mr. Garfield Todd, the Prime Minister, described the riots as the result of "the general situation of unrest . . . which has been developing within the Federation for some time and has reached menacing proportions in recent months. We have seen illegal strikes in the north and the law breakers and their leaders, instead of suffering penalties, have gained Press comment and growing prestige, until ignorant Africans might well believe that it pays to break the law. . . . We have had inflammatory speeches and been aware of the work of certain irresponsible people, both white and black, within our own country. Months of this seditious influence has culminated in a night of destruction, of rape of Africans, and of pillage, and decent people throughout Southern Rhodesia are shocked and ashamed." He said that the actual rioting was carried out by a small number, perhaps 300, working in small gangs. "The African people are stunned and almost unbelieving at what has taken place." (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 18 and 19, 1956.)

Mr. Todd's suggestion that the riots were connected with the Copperbelt troubles was vigorously attacked in Northern Rhodesia. The *Central African Post* (September 19, 1956) said: "Mr. Todd would be better employed investigating the real reasons for the rioting of his 'happy and contented people' who have 'long enjoyed' self-government by Southern Rhodesia. . . ." Mr. John Roberts, leader of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, said that Mr. Todd's statement was inaccurate and unworthy of the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister; it was "inimical to good relations between us". (*Central African Post*, September 21, 1956.)

The riot came after several weeks of protest by Africans living in the townships at and near Salisbury about the cost of bus fares. In August an Action Committee was formed and contact was made between the residents of five different African townships around Salisbury. Plans were made for a boycott of the bus service, despite official warnings given by the police under the Public Order Act of 1955. (*African Weekly*, August 29, 1956.) The Minister of Roads refused to meet the Action Committee and referred them to the existing Road Services Board. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 5, 1956.) The *African Weekly* (August 15, 1956) had pointed out that residents of Highfield, one of the townships involved, had to pay £3 per month to get to and from work. This was in addition to £3 per month for rent. "These figures make no sense when they are put side by side with the Government's minimum wage of £4. 15s. 6d. per month. Although most commercial and industrial firms pay much more than the minimum wage, the £3 figure for transport alone is unbearable in our eyes."

Speaking after the riot had taken place, Mr. Todd said that of the 97,000 workers in greater Salisbury, only 4,000 or 5,000 used the buses. Thirty thousand African workers lived in Harari, which was only 2½ miles from the G.P.O. A further 30,000 lived nearer still to their work; of these about half were domestic servants who lived on their employers' premises. He thought it more important to give the African more money to raise his standards of living rather than to enable him to ride to work in comfort. Mr. Todd said: "I have no conscience at all about the general Government attitude to the Native population." (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 22, 1956.)

The *Rhodesia Herald* (September 21, 1956), looking forward to the day when Salisbury would have 300,000 inhabitants of whom 200,000 would be Africans, said that a suburban railway service would be needed; this would be cheaper than bus travel. Africans could not be expected to pay bus fares unrelated to their earnings.

The Action Committee, which was refused permission to hold mass meetings in Harari, in order to tell people that the bus boycott should be called off, met the Chief Native Commissioner and the Minister for Native Affairs. It was announced that an African (Mr. J. Nkomo from Bulawayo) would be a member of the Government-proposed Commission of Inquiry into the transport problems in and around Salisbury. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 22, 1956.)

Industrial and Trade Union Problems

The Southern Rhodesian Government plans to appoint a commission to investigate all aspects of the urbanization and industrialization of Africans. (*Daily Telegraph*, October 11, 1956.)

A select committee investigating the Native Industrial Workers' Unions Bill, which provided for the establishment of specifically African trade unions, has recommended that where possible Africans should join European unions. Mr. Garfield Todd, Prime Minister and Minister of Labour, will introduce the new Bill in February, 1957. The select committee reported "the remarkable fact" that there was almost unanimous support from representatives of both European and African labour for the inclusion of Africans in European unions. (*Agence France Presse*, November 6, 1956.)

Financial and Trade Expansion

More than 3 million pounds has been invested from private sources in industry in Southern Rhodesia. Industry expansion is advancing rapidly and nearly a quarter of all the factories operating in the Territory have been put up in the last 21 months. (*A.P.F.*, October 30, 1956.)

The Rhodesian iron and steel industry is to be denationalized. A new public company, the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Corporation Limited, will take over the industry from January 1, 1957. Those likely to be involved in the new undertaking are the Lancashire Steel Corporation, Ltd., Stewarts and Lloyds, Ltd., the Colonial Development Corporation, the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., the Messina (Transvaal) Development Company Ltd., Rhodesia Selection Trust Ltd., and the British South Africa Company. (*Times*, October 18, 1956.)

African M.P. Returns

Mr. M. M. Hove, African Federal M.P., returned from a tour of the United States. He said that if ever serious racial problems started in the Federation it would happen not in Northern Rhodesia nor Nyasaland, but "right here in Southern Rhodesia". He continued: "All the conditions are here, and it is here that the African is abused simply for being an African when he comes—with money in hand—to avail himself of services provided for him." He mentioned the treatment of Africans in post offices. "Go there and listen to the words that come out of the mouths of the white officials to the Africans who come to receive postal services." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 20, 1956.)

Nyasaland

African Representative's Statement to Colonial Secretary

MR. H. B. CHIPEMBERE, Member of the Legislative Council for the Southern Province, submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies while on a visit to Britain. The following were the main points:

1. Constitutional Reform

There is a general feeling in Nyasaland that Her Majesty's Government's Colonial policy in Nyasaland is being influenced by a determination never to offend the Federal Government. The political future of the African people is being sacrificed to the interests of the settler-dominated Federal Government in Salisbury, and the recent Nyasaland constitutional changes are an illustration of this new practice.

(a) *Executive Council.* The most ridiculous and disastrous part of the recent constitutional reform is the decision not to include Africans on the Executive Council of Nyasaland. We are amazed at your suggestion that the African has not yet reached the stage at which he can be included in the Executive Council. This gross underestimation of African intelligence and ability to participate in the work of government makes it all the more necessary that you should visit Nyasaland and study this for yourself. It is relieving, however, that the new Governor of Nyasaland has seen it necessary "to associate African leaders with the work of the Executive Council", for it is an admission that our total exclusion is an error. It is our earnest request that you should raise this much-suspected iron curtain at the door of the Executive Council.

(b) *Legislative Council.* We feel very bitterly our numerical weakness in the Legislative Council. Our number in the House is so small that our voice is not given the weight that it deserves: and our opinions are not given adequate expression in the course of discussion. To us the official majority is what it is, namely, a group of Europeans enjoying the benefits of the privileged race. On Federation, Constitutional changes and on any debate on the political future of Nyasaland, the official majority has taken exactly the same stand as the settler representatives. Our suggestion, therefore, is that the Legislative Council should be so reconstructed as to reflect truly the distribution of numerical strength in the population of Nyasaland in its composition.

(c) *Presidency of the Legislative Council.* The time has now come for an unofficial and independent speaker to be introduced in Nyasaland. We have full confidence in the Governor, but it is constitutionally unsound and must often be a source of embarrassment that a member of the Government, constantly confronted by the necessity to support his Government, should preside over a house in which the Government and his own policy are often being criticized.

(d) *The Franchise.* We believe in universal adult suffrage on the lines of the Gold Coast and Eastern Nigeria. We are very strongly opposed to the system of multiple votes being introduced as in Kenya, for it is nothing but a device to consolidate the position of the white settlers by associating a limited number of upper-class Africans with them; nor do we believe in the strong emphasis on possession of property as a qualification for voting, so rigidly upheld in Southern Rhodesia for obvious reasons.

2. Need for Planning by Expert

Our considered opinion now is that what was done in the case of Uganda should be done in Nyasaland, namely, that a constitutional expert should be sent to discuss the next step in constitutional reform.

3. Future of Nyasaland

The people of Nyasaland (and this time I am referring to the people of all races) are afflicted by grave doubts and uncertainties as to what the aims of H.M.G. are in respect of Nyasaland's political future. There is of course a marked tendency to increase the political preponderance of settlers in Nyasaland. We believe that Nyasaland, as a protectorate which Britain rules as a foreign power, should be

developed into an African state, and that H.M.G. has a great moral obligation to ensure that Nyasaland shall never be turned into a white-dominated country on the lines of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia. The action in Federating Nyasaland to Southern Rhodesia betrays a desire to change Nyasaland into a white-dominated Colony and it has raised false hopes and pretensions in the minds of the tiny population of settlers in Nyasaland. In the interests of peace and racial harmony we suggest that H.M.G. should announce its intention in Nyasaland now.

4. Dominion Status for the Federation

It is hoped that H.M.G. will not be shaken from its firm stand on this matter by the irresponsible threats emanating from Salisbury.

5. Secession from Federation

Your declaration that the idea of our secession is "wholly unacceptable" shows that the tradition of ignoring our feelings is still being carried on. I am not in a position to say what action my people will decide upon: I can only say that all that the law permits will be done to achieve the liberation of Nyasaland from her unwanted political association with Rhodesia. The ever-growing popularity of the Nyasaland African Congress, so clearly demonstrated in its resounding victory in the last elections, must have left your office without any doubts as to the trend of feelings on this matter among the Africans in Nyasaland.

Opposition to Federation

A demand that Nyasaland have a referendum to decide whether or not it should stay in the Federation was reiterated by Nyasaland African M.L.C., Mr. W. M. K. Chiume. This would test the contention that many people accept Federation.

Commenting upon the Federal Government's request for independence in its own sphere, Mr. Chiume said that the demand had surprised nobody but the European settlers and "those who were disillusioned enough to believe that the Federation had meant the opposite of what the Africans had said." (*Nyasaland Times*, September 14, 1956.)

In England, the Rt. Rev. F. O. Thorne, Bishop of Nyasaland, said that though Central African Federation had brought more money into Nyasaland, politically conscious Africans were still resentful of it. They felt that it had been imposed on them against their will, and that it put an end to hopes of an independent African Government. They particularly feared the influence of Southern Rhodesia, where the colour question was more acute, and where Africans were obliged to carry passes. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 9, 1956.)

Mr. W. M. Chirwa, African Federal M.P. for Nyasaland, told a meeting of over 1,000 in Kabwata that "Lord Malvern's action in secretly crawling to the Colonial office for more power for Europeans in Central Africa was illegal and unconstitutional. He asked Africans to rally solidly behind the African National Congress "before it was too late" and get ready to send a delegation of African leaders to the United Kingdom to demand the rights of the African population. "We must fight and struggle to preserve what we have," he said, warning them that Europeans all over Central Africa were organizing themselves for a struggle to win more political power. (*Central African Post*, September 10, 1956.)

Mr. D. W. Chijozi, member of the Legislative Council, issued a Press statement in which he said: "Europeans are our teachers and we want them to stay with us. But at the present moment . . . we differ in opinion. Europeans want independence within the Federation, while Africans seek Nyasaland's self-government within the British Commonwealth and oppose Federation for several obvious

reasons. When we try to express our problems, Europeans regard it as hatred and perhaps they do not understand our difficulties. They should try to be modest and help us to solve our problems." (*Nyasaland Times*, September 4, 1956.)

Voice in Defence

In a comment under this headline, the *Nyasaland Times* (August 28, 1956) welcomed the London *Daily Express*'s defence of the white settler and its support for Lord Malvern's campaign for dominion status. It said: "It is very pleasing to find amid the welter of parlour-pinks, Fabians and colonial do-gooders, a voice that speaks up for those genuinely interested in the development of this land and the welfare of those who live in it."

Passports Refused

The Nyasaland Government has refused to issue a passport to the secretary-general of the Nyasaland African Congress, Mr. T. D. T. Banda. He had applied for one to attend an Asian Socialist conference in Bombay, to which he had been invited by the organizers. A Government spokesman said that he could not disclose the reason. Mr. K. Kaunda, secretary of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, who was also invited to the conference, has had his application for a passport refused. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, November 15, 1956.)

Land Questions¹

The Government proposals for land reorganization in urban and peri-urban areas have been published. They would "safeguard the status of the land, ensuring that it remains trust land"; they would also ensure that planned plots would be available, that preference goes to existing residents, that no one is unnecessarily disturbed, but compensation is paid where they are, and that plot-holders would enjoy the security of tenure and would not need to put up buildings beyond their pocket. (*The Nyasaland Times*, September 28, 1956.)

Urging the benefit of land reorganization, *Bwalo la Nyasaland* (October 16, 1956), said: "Up to a few years ago land was considered by most Africans in much the same way as Europeans think of sunshine or air. To the African land was equally plentiful, equally necessary, and to be equally shared by all members of the community according to their needs. To them land was not for sale and it had no price. It could be used by anyone as long as he wanted it, and could part with it at any time. Europeans came with an entirely different idea about land. To Europeans land was and it still is property; and individuals could own it as people do bicycles, houses or clothes. . . . Government would be acting wisely to take all the necessary steps to ensure that Africans fully understand the magnitude of the problem and appreciate the issues involved. Discussion should not end at Provincial Council level, but steps should be taken so that Native Authorities in each area should contact their people and see that everyone sees the necessity of implementing these new schemes."

WEST AFRICA

The Gold Coast

Preparations for Independence

ARRANGEMENTS for the celebration of the independence of the Gold Coast in March 1957 are being made on the assumption that

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

the Crown will be represented by a "highly important personage" It is not known who this will be.

Designs for the Flag and Coat of Arms of Ghana have been approved. The flag has horizontal stripes of red, gold and green and in the centre of the gold stripe is a five-pointed black star.

Welcoming the forthcoming independence of Ghana, Mr. Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India, said: "The Government of India look forward to further consolidation of the close and friendly relations between our two countries and to continued co-operation with the Government of Ghana in the cause of peace and progress."

The Chief Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lim Yew Hock cabled Dr. Nkrumah: "Your leadership and perseverance shall always inspire me and those who are anxious to tread the path of independence."

Mr. Louis Macneice, the distinguished writer, has been engaged by the Department of Information Services to prepare a script for a new Gold Coast Film Unit production which will have as its climax the celebrations of independence.

A special issue of Gold Coast stamps commemorating independence is being printed.

New Constitutional Proposals

A White Paper¹ has been published on the series of meetings held in Accra recently between Government representatives and Opposition leaders. The new proposals re-affirm that on the attainment of independence the Gold Coast should become a sovereign State within the Commonwealth, with the Queen as its head. The Governor-General will appoint all Ministers and will have power on the advice of the Premier to remove any Minister. On the passage of a censure motion in the National Assembly the Premier must resign immediately and order the dissolution of the Assembly and the holding of a general election. Supreme legislative power would be vested in the Parliament, consisting of the Queen and the National Assembly. The life of the National Assembly should be five years.

As regards the judiciary, the Government proposed that after independence an act of Parliament should be passed providing for unified judicial service consisting of magistrates, judges, and justices of appeal. The Chief Justice will be appointed by the Governor-General acting on the advice of the Premier. A judicial service commission would be established and its regulations made by the Governor-General. The new Constitution should provide that any judge would be liable to suspension from duty pending his ultimate removal on an address of Parliament carried by not less than two-thirds of all members praying for his suspension on grounds of his stated misbehaviour or infirmity of body or mind. The powers of the judicial committee of the Privy Council to entertain appeals should be retained.

Provision for amending the Constitution should ensure that this would not be possible except with the consent of a two-thirds majority of all members of the House.

The White Paper affirms the Government's earlier view that there should be a measure of devolution of powers from the Central Government to the Regions. The Regional assemblies should have powers similar to those of the London County Council, but such powers should come into operation by a gradual process.

An Opposition suggestion that a Council of State should be set up was rejected by the Government. This Council would have consisted of the Governor-General, the heads of four Territorial Councils, the Premier, the Leader of the Opposition, and the Attorney-General. Its object was to advise the Governor-General on the appointment of members of the public service commission, the

¹Government Printer, Accra, price 6d.

appointment of judges, regulations concerning the judicial service and the public service commissions, and local constitutional matters.

The Government also rejected an Opposition suggestion for a Second Chamber. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 8, 1956.)

Dr. K. A. Busia, Leader of the Opposition, issued a statement in the Gold Coast on November 4 saying: "I am personally very sorry there are so many points on which there was no agreement. But there have been some gains. We have agreed on certain matters, due largely to the concessions made by the Opposition. What is more, we have met and we have discussed freely and frankly. It is clear we could have reached agreement on more issues if the Government had been as ready as the Opposition to make concessions. I regret we are not able to announce to the country and to the world that we have settled our constitution."

Mr. Kofi Baako, the Government Chief Whip, in a statement on November 5, criticized Dr. Busia because he intended leaving the Gold Coast to continue academic work overseas. He said: "May the Professor in the supreme interest of Ghana return to lead the Parliamentary Opposition in the forthcoming debate in the Legislative Assembly. It is my fervent belief that quite apart from the fact that it is possible to reach further agreement on the differences still outstanding, the debate in the Assembly will give both the Parliamentary Opposition and the Government the invaluable opportunity to explain to the electorates their viewpoints on those aspects of the constitution on which no agreement has yet been reached." (*West Africa*, November 10, 1956.)

Debate on the Jibowu Report

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Cocoa Purchasing Company under Mr. Justice Jibowu¹ has been debated in the House of Assembly on a motion asking the Assembly to adopt the Government's proposals regarding the report.

For the first time since this House was elected the Opposition were in their place. Mr. K. Botsio, Minister of Trade and Labour, against whom no allegations had been made asked the Opposition whether, in view of their previous boycott, they proposed in future to play their part in the House's work, since the central object of the Government's proposals for control of statutory bodies, to prevent repetition of the C.P.C. experience, was to give to the Assembly and the Ministers detailed control over these bodies. This meant that the Opposition could play a leading part in controlling their funds; but only if they were prepared to sit on the proposed Assembly Select Committee on the Public Authorities which would normally have an Opposition chairman.

The Minister said that the only recommendation of the Jibowu Commission which the Government rejected was the one that the C.P.C. should have three Government and three Opposition nominees as directors, and a chairman appointed by the Governor.

A motion calling for the resignation of the Prime Minister was defeated.

Subsequently the Opposition sent a formal letter to the Governor, Sir Charles Arden Clarke, asking him to use his veto to dismiss Dr. Nkrumah, and two Ministers, Messrs K. A. Gbedemah and Ako Adjei, who had been mentioned during the sitting of the Jibowu commission for condoning and conniving at irregularities in the C.P.C.

The Volta Project

Total expenditure on the investigation into the Volta River

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

Project amounted to a little over £1 million, part of which has been borne by the United Kingdom Government, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance, told the Legislative Assembly. A considerable part of the funds have been used in acquainting the people of the Gold Coast with the full implications of the scheme.

Important schemes aimed at the improvement of health, communications and public education in the Transvolta and Togoland areas have been made possible by the granting of a £1 million credit in addition to the Government's normal expenditure.

Of this amount, £191,000 was earmarked for building two hospitals and eleven maternity hospitals, infirmaries and medical posts; £300,000 for the digging of wells and water supply; £153,000 for public education. From the Government's ordinary appropriations £65,000 will be allocated to regional development. (*Agence France-Presse*, October 2, 1956.)

A booklet¹ has been produced in English and the main Gold Coast vernaculars to give the people of the Gold Coast a clear idea of the proposals in connexion with the Volta scheme. In the introduction, Dr. Nkrumah said: "When the people of the Gold Coast have had every chance to weigh up the scheme, I shall arrange for the Legislative Assembly to debate the project and the terms of the partnership proposed, which will cover every aspect of construction and operation. It will not be until then, until I have received a clear and unmistakable sign that the country as a whole wants the project, that I shall be in a position to tell our partners that we are ready to go into this scheme with them. If we do go ahead, this will be one of the biggest construction projects anywhere on earth."

Professor W. A. Lewis, Professor of Economic and Social Studies at Manchester University, commending the project to the people of the Gold Coast wrote: "My reason is simply that I think it will pay the country handsomely in the material sense." In support of his belief that the project should be given priority over other developments, Professor Lewis added: "This project will also help other kinds of development. The roads, railways and harbour works will stimulate all sorts of other activities. The new lake will add to the fisheries potentials, and will also facilitate irrigation. The dam will provide additional electric power for the rest of the economy. Food production will be stimulated in the vicinity of the project, and agriculture is expected to benefit from increased demand."

Nigeria

Comments on Forthcoming Constitutional Conference²

THE Secretary of State for the Colonies announced that the constitutional conference would not take place before January 1957. Mr. Lennox-Boyd, in a letter to the Federal and Regional Governments, said: "I wish at this stage to affirm that the Government intend to grant self-government to the Western Region and to any other region that desires it, subject to the proviso that there shall be safeguards for the Federal Government's functions and the continuance of federation, and to settlement of the various details necessary to implement the 1953 offer."

The Colonial Secretary's statement has been welcomed by the Premier of Western Nigeria, Chief Obafemi Awolowo. He hoped that as soon as Mr. Lennox-Boyd had satisfied himself that the West's proposals did not "act so as to impede or prejudice the exercise by the Federal Government of the functions assigned to it" or

¹The Volta River Project: Department of Information Services, Accra.
²DIGEST III, 8; IV, 1 and 2.

"in any way make the continuance of federation impossible" no time would be lost in making it possible for the West to enjoy self-government from the early months of 1957.

The Eastern Region Ministers, however, have opposed the suggestion that the conference should be held in the U.K., and expressed their determination "to ensure the granting of self-government for the whole of Nigeria as well as for the Regions that desired it along the lines of the Central African Federation between the time of the constitutional conference and 1959". The Ministers have proposed that defence and external matters should be reserved to H.M. Government; internal security should be reserved jointly to H.M. Government and the Government of Nigeria; official Members should not longer sit in the Council of Ministers; a Prime Minister should be appointed by the party with an overall majority in the Federal House provided that elections are based on adult suffrage; police and judiciary should be federal subjects; the Governor-General should not exercise any reserve power either under a Nigerian constitution Order-in-Council or under royal instructions; and that after March 31, 1959, Dominion status should be conferred upon Nigeria. (*West Africa*, October 20, 1956.)

In a separate dispatch to the Colonial Secretary, the Governor of the Eastern Region, Sir Clement Pleass, disassociated himself from the views of the Premier and his Ministers that "laws enacted by the House of Representatives should be assented to by the Governor-General, but shall not be liable to signification of Her Majesty's Pleasure".

Nigeria and Egypt

The Times (November 8, 1956) reported that "Even in relatively remote townships Nigerians are showing an intense interest and a surprisingly detailed knowledge of the course of the Suez Dispute. Sympathy, on the whole, lies with Egypt. As one Nigerian put it: 'We are not particularly fond of the Egyptians, but think in this case they are the underdog.' At the same time, they were not very concerned when the Anglo-French intervention actually took place. Some commented that the timing was bad, and that force, if used, should have been used immediately Colonel Nasser seized the canal. Questions now being asked relate to the effect that the intervention is likely to have on Nigeria. Will it delay self-government? The economic implication of Colonel Nasser's 'grab' are also much discussed. Foreign firms and external capital are playing a great part in Nigerian economic development, and thinking Africans are concerned lest this help should be scared off."

During recent months there have been reports of Egypt's efforts to spread anti-British feeling. These efforts have been particularly directed to the Muslims of the Northern Region. *The Daily Telegraph* (October 4, 1956) reported that broadcasts in the Hausa language were being started, and that Egyptian propaganda leaflets were being distributed. On October 31, 1956, the Minister of State for the Colonies informed the House of Commons that the Northern People's Congress, the majority party in Northern Nigeria, had made it clear that they had no affiliation to the World Islamic Congress, whose headquarters were in Cairo, and they had no intention of committing the Region to any political bloc outside the British Commonwealth.

Elections in the Northern Region

The Northern People's Congress has again won a majority in Northern Nigeria's new House of Assembly, elections to which will end on November 29, 1956. The N.P.C. has won 80 seats; the Middle Belt Congress 4; Independents 6; the Northern Elements Progressive

Union (the main Opposition Party) 2; and the Action Group Alliance 2. The total number of seats in the new House is 131. The Premier of the Region, the Sardauna of Sokoto, was returned unopposed.

£4½ Million Grant for the North

Grants of £3,450,000 towards a scheme for the development of roads and £1,300,000 for the development of rural water supplies in the Northern Region have been made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. Previously a grant of £1½ million was made to the Federal Government for international and inter-regional roads. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, September 9, 1956.)

Import and Export Trade¹

Imports and exports during the first six months of 1956 show that the trade balance has swung against Nigeria to the extent of £1,189,045. This has been caused by a sharp increase in the value of imports over that of domestic exports including re-exports. At the same point in 1955, the visible trade balance in Nigeria's favour was £8.8 millions.

In the various commodity sections imports of manufactured goods represent the largest volume with the United Kingdom taking first place and Japan second. Under food imports, Norway comes second to the U.K., Germany exports the most food to Nigeria. Italy supplies about one-third of Nigeria's total imports of mineral fuels, lubricants, etc.

Domestic exports to the U.K. during the period under review totalled £46.9 millions, which is just over £3 millions less than in the first six months of 1955. Exports to the U.S.A. total £9 millions, about £2 millions more than in 1955. There was also a rise in domestic exports to several Commonwealth countries, notably South Africa, where the rise was about 200 per cent.

Sierra Leone

The Cox Commission

THE report of the Cox Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in the Provinces² has been published together with the Protectorate Government's comments. The Government stated that it "resents and rejects the suggestion that it was in complete ignorance that any untoward state of affairs existed", but it accepted the need to "put right all that has gone wrong and to give the ordinary man in the street and the villages the assurance of a fair deal from all levels of government".

West Africa (October 13, 1956) reported on the Government's attitude: "In August before the report was published the Government issued a statement designed 'to put a stop forthwith to the abuses and malpractices which the Commission has brought to light, and to restore to those who had been so victimized a degree of confidence in the local administration'. This earlier statement declared that all demands for forced or compulsory labour 'must cease'; that a taxpayer's compulsory liability is confined to his local tax, and that a number of fees and charges listed were illegal; that fines could only be imposed after proper Court proceedings; that complaints about taxes or fines should be made immediately to the D.C. or the police; and that since the Government accepted the Commission's view that every male taxpayer in the Protectorate could reasonably pay 25s.,

¹See *Nigeria Trade Summary* (June); Dept. of Statistics, price 2s.

²*DIGEST III*, 6 and 7.

that would be the maximum for 1956 and 1957. The Government has also appointed three retired judges from other territories to conduct inquiries into the conduct of chiefs and headmen in certain chiefdoms. . . .

"The Government declares that Provincial and District Commissioners are 'its powerful local agents in the field' and that it has 'every confidence in them'. They have 'access to and powers of surveillance over all government institutions . . . including local government institutions in their present stage of development. . . .'

"Referring to the Commission's comments on the position of Chiefs, the Government says that 'they have and will continue to have a very important role to play in the general development of the country for a long time. . . . But they must 'adapt their attitude to the changing and advancing conditions of the times' and see that 'the interests of the people in their chiefdoms come first and not their own personal aggrandisement'.

"The Commission's tribute to the work of the police is welcomed by the Government which records its appreciation of the 'mixture of restraint and resolution' shown by the Force throughout the disturbances, though they were working under very great difficulties."

Ultimatum to "Strangers"

Following on the passage through the Legislative Council of the Diamond Industry Protection Ordinance, the Governor of Sierra Leone, Mr. M. H. Dorman, issued an ultimatum last week to the 30,000 to 50,000 "strangers" estimated to be living in the diamond areas of the Protectorate. (A "stranger" means any person in the Diamond Protection Area who is a native foreigner or who is not a British subject, a citizen of the Republic of Ireland, or a British Protected Person, and who was not resident in the area before January 1, 1956.)

At the end of his tour of the diamond areas the Governor said that everywhere he went he found great wealth being won from diamond diggings and everywhere he found foreigners profiting. Foreigners had invaded the country in the past three years and were still trying to come in. Rice in the diamond areas cost 4s. a bowl, a chicken cost £1 and a bottle of beer 8s. The cost of living to ordinary people had been forced up and up, and, he added: "I found 20 persons living in one shinbeck. I have been and seen for myself. What I found was that those living in overcrowded surroundings are almost always our own people." Many things would have to be done, but the first was to get rid of the newly arrived native foreigners, Marakas, Mandingoes, Foulahs, Senegalese, and others from parts of French West Africa and Liberia. He was not talking about those who had lived a long time in Sierra Leone and who respected the country's laws and institutions. If the new native foreigners did not obey his words they could not expect to be treated leniently.

Speaking in the Legislative Council, the Rev. Paul Dunbar said that "strangers" were smuggling guns and ammunition into the diamond mining areas. He described the present situation as grave, and warned the Government to be prepared for any incidents. Mr. I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson said the Ordinance was against the human right to live wherever one liked. The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. H. C. Bankole-Bright, said the Ordinance was long overdue. "Strangers" had been engaged in illegal activities in the mining areas and they should be checked. (*West Africa*, November 10, 1956.)

Mr. H. C. Jacob, the Financial Secretary, told the Legislative Council in his Budget Speech that the adverse balance of trade, which amounted to £7 million last year and £3½ million in the first six months of this year, was accounted for chiefly by illegal diamond exports.

French Togoland

Autonomous Republic Established

M. NICHOLAS GRUNITZKY, the first Premier of the new Republic of French Togoland, announced his first Cabinet on September 16, 1956. It is made up of three representatives of the Chief's Organization, three members of the governing Togolaise du Progrès party and two French officials. External Affairs and Defence will remain under the French High Commissioner, who, with the Premier, will be responsible for Justice.

This is the result of negotiations between the Representative Assembly (now the Legislative Assembly) and the French Government for constitutional reform of the Territory.

Popular Reaction

Results of a referendum on the status of the Trust Territory show that 71 per cent of the electors registered for referendum voted for the "new status"; that is, the end of the trusteeship régime and the creation of a "Togoland autonomous republic", within the framework of the French Union. This result is considered as a vote for the maintenance of the French Togoland within the French Union.

The percentage of the electors having participated in the vote reached 77 per cent. Five per cent only declared in favour of the continuation of the trusteeship régime. The percentage of abstentions was 22 per cent. Abstentions were particularly numerous in Southern Togoland where the Opposition has more influence.

Two opposition parties—the Committee for Togolese Union and the Juvento—boycotted the referendum. They waged an active campaign, urging the population to abstain from voting. A third opposition party—the Togoland Popular Movement—also boycotted the referendum, but did not participate in the campaign.

Mr. Sylvanus Olympio, leader of the Committee for Togolese Union, said that the reason for their boycott was that there was no possibility of declaring clearly for the unification of the two Togolands and their independence: the only choice was between the continuation of the present trusteeship régime and an "autonomous republic" within the French Union.

Dr. Pedro Olympio, leader of the Togolese Popular Movement, said he was opposed to the new status because it provided for the end of United Nations control.

The Premier, M. Grunitzky, commenting on the referendum said that the most urgent task for the Togolese Government was economic. He stressed the necessity of French financial aid. The problem was to set on foot "an African Togolese State allowing progress on the way to democracy while protecting Togoland's own traditions".

Premier Grunitzky expressed satisfaction over the results of the referendum, which showed that the population was in favour of a "Togoland autonomous republic" within the French Union. He specified that the results of the referendum implied the end of the trusteeship régime, but there would have to be direct negotiations between France and the United Nations on this issue.

The Legislative Assembly subsequently passed a resolution asking for the end of trusteeship régime and stressing "Togoland's will to maintain bonds of friendship and co-operation with France". The motion specified that the referendum "showed the whole country's unshakeable will to put an immediate and final end to the trusteeship régime", which the motion added, "has ended *de facto* with the referendum operations". (*Agence France-Presse*, October 30 and November 2, 1956.)

Commenting on the referendum, *The Times* (October 30, 1956)

said: "The results of the referendum so far show clearly that this constitution commands general support. The main opposition has come from the Ewe tribe in the south, a part of the people who took the same line in the British Togoland plebiscite earlier this year, for the international boundary cuts across the tribal area. The Ewes in British territory voted against incorporation in the Gold Coast, just as their brothers in French territory have opposed the French constitution, because they fear that the tribe will be irrevocably split. While the desire of the Ewe tribe to unite British and French Togoland must for this reason command sympathy, it is difficult to see how a territory thus created could prosper on its own, unless it formed part of a larger federation embracing the future state Ghana. This may come in time, but at present the Ewe tribe are apprehensive and dissatisfied."

EAST AFRICA

Princess Margaret's Tour

ALL newspapers carried enthusiastic reports of H.R.H. Princess Margaret's tour of Zanzibar, Tanganyika and Kenya.

The last major event of the tour took place in Nairobi where Her Royal Highness opened the newly completed Technical College, which includes the Gandhi Memorial College. A trial course began in April, and the first regular course started on October 11. There are six faculties—engineering, arts, science, architecture, commerce and domestic science which are open to members of all races.

Kenya

After the Election

THE Independent Group,¹ which objected to the Lyttelton Constitution because it reserves ministerial posts according to race, won eight of the fourteen European seats in the Legislative Council. The remaining six seats went to the followers of Mr. Michael Blundell, Minister for Agriculture. All the Federal Independence Party¹ candidates were defeated, as were the two representatives of the Capricorn Africa Society. Group Captain Briggs, leader of the Independent Group, has become Minister without Portfolio in succession to Mr. L. R. M. Welwood, the only Minister to be defeated at the polls.

In the Asian elections, Mr. I. E. Nathoo and Mr. S. G. Hassan were elected by the Muslim constituencies, and Messrs. N. S. Mangat, C. Madan, J. C. M. Nazareth and A. J. Pardiya by the non-Muslims. Mahfood Saleh Mackawi represents the Arabs.

Subsequently the chairman of the European Elected Members' Association, Sir Alfred Vincent, issued a statement on behalf of the fourteen members saying that they had resolved to discard all group and party affiliations and work together freely with the object of achieving moderate and constructive policies, and that they were agreed on recommendations to be made to the Governor regarding constitutional changes.

Mr. Lennox Boyd, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, informed the House of Commons on October 31, 1956, of the immediate constitutional changes to which members of all races in the Legislative Council were agreed. The number of unofficials in the Council of Ministers would be increased from six to eight, by adding one African and one European unofficial Minister; Legislative Council seats would be increased by four, two of which would go to

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

new African Representative Members. Special arrangements would be made for Arab representation in the Council of Ministers.

Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P. (Labour), said that despite the appointment of an additional African Minister, which she welcomed, the balance of representation between Europeans and non-Europeans would remain unaltered. Was there not an urgent need to give a relatively greater representation to Africans in view of their numerical preponderance in the country?

Mr. Lennox-Boyd in a further statement said experience had shown that it was felt desirable and necessary for the non-Government side of the Legislative Council to be strengthened. There should be opportunity to appoint Ministers from a wider representation than single-member constituencies. It was hoped that the new changes would give a period of stable government to the country which would enable all races to work together for the development and progress of Kenya. (*Commonwealth News Agency*.)

Nairobi Congress's Challenge¹

At a mass meeting held by the Nairobi District African Congress a resolution was passed calling on the African unofficial members of the Legislative Council not to take part in any future talks about the Colony's Constitution or in any discussions on controversial legislation unless they first made their views known publicly. No African should attend the new session of the Legislature in a nominated capacity, and if the present members felt they could take part in the work of the new Council before the March election they should not enter into any discussion of the topics mentioned unless they first addressed a public meeting in Nairobi.

The President of the Congress, Mr. C. M. Argwings-Kodhek, emphasized that the Congress would fight for a Government of Africans by and for Africans. Immigration of non-Africans should cease unless they were able to prove that they were of special use to the Africans.

Introducing a manifesto on behalf of the Congress, he said that "political power is the cornerstone of our struggle. We must have that power in this fair land of ours. While it remains in the hands of others, this power appears to be used to oppress us. This is evident from their rather misguided stand on having more representatives than we have and from their opposition to the benevolent hand of the Colonial Office. There is no power on earth that could keep six million Africans in subjection and without an effective voice in the counsels of state for ever. We will demand—and get—that power, and we will wield that power with discretion, responsibility and self-respect."

The leader of the African Unofficial Members, Mr. Eliud Mathu, rebuked Mr. Argwings-Kodhek for his proposal "to control African unofficial members" and described him as "this Mussolini of Kenya". He advised his colleagues to ignore Congress from now on. (*The Times*, October 10, 1956.)

Need for Agreed Future Objective

Mr. Tom Mboya, General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour and a well-known African leader, writing in *Drum* (November 1956), said:

"The Kenya situation demands urgent examination and immediate action. The future of Kenya is in jeopardy so long as political instability prevails. . . . Before any solution to Kenya's numerous problems can be found, it is essential that there must exist a universally accepted objective on which the future is to be based.

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

"The dilemma in Kenya is that no such objective exists. Neither in London nor in Nairobi is there agreement on what ultimate form of government should be established in Kenya. This is the tragedy of the situation. This lack of objective has contributed to the present trouble; there is bound to be further trouble in the future unless an acceptable objective is soon established. . . .

"There is in fact no doubt that while Africans are opposed to the use of violence, most, if not all, are unreservedly opposed to the present European-dominated régime in Kenya. The essence of the Kenya problem lies in the concept of European supremacy and its practical application by the settlers, and in the inability of the British Government effectively to exert its authority over the local European clamour for domination. The answer does not therefore lie in transferring power from the Colonial Office to the Kenya Government (as most European politicians seem to believe) for this would only provoke further African hostility to the European settler community."

Mr. Mboya stated that the "basic racial attitude of the Europeans has not altered" despite the changes which have taken place since the emergency. "Today, many people talk of the need for Europeans to make concessions and gestures which will help win confidence in European leadership. But the African does not ask for concessions, nor need gestures of European generosity. He is not asking for privileges. The African asks for his rights. He seeks to establish equality of all individuals, black, brown or white. In this demand there can be no half-way compromise, for it is either absolute equality or superiority of one over the other.

"It is because of this that I believe that the whole idea of multi-racialism or partnership is bound to fail. Both these terms are open to a variety of interpretations, but in their East and Central African context, they mean recognition of participation of all racial groups in the Government. They consist not of the recognition of individual citizenship rights but of group rights. When applied on a parity basis, they equate group rights, disregarding the relative size of each group. On any other basis, they establish a group superiority in the Government. Neither of these are conducive to the establishment of democracy in the sense that all individuals enjoy equal basic democratic rights. Insistence on a 'multi-racial' Government will in fact help to promote racialism, and hence create even greater dangers to the Europeans than they at present realize."

Nyanza African Political Association

The Central Nyanza District Association which has been registered by the Kenya Government is the first political association to be set up in the African Land Units. Mr. B. A. Ohanga stated that the Association would not be run on party lines. It had scope for all shades of political opinion, so long as these were genuinely aimed at waging an honest battle for the social and political welfare of the people of Kenya, and its supreme aim was to unite the people. A similar association in South Nyanza had applied for registration, and another would be formed shortly in the Kericho District.

The objects set out in the Association's constitution are:

(i) To provide a medium through which the Africans in Central Nyanza will voice their opinion in political, social and economic problems affecting the development of Kenya.

(ii) To bring to the notice of the Government all justifiable demands and claims of its members.

(iii) To press forward unflinchingly the political and all other appropriate rights of the Africans in Central Nyanza.

(iv) To work in close association with the members of the Colony's Legislature elected to represent the Africans.

(v) To cultivate mutual relations with other political organizations in Kenya wherever this is possible under the present regulations. (*East African Standard*, August 31, 1956.)

Report on Prison and Detention Camps¹

Mr. G. H. Heaton, in his report on "General Administration of Prisons and Detention Camps in Kenya", gave figures which indicate the enormous increase in the work of the Kenya Prisons Service since the beginning of the emergency in 1952. In 1952 the staff of the Department, which at the time also included the approved schools and probation service, amounted to 43 European officers and 1,100 Africans. The daily average number of prisoners was 9,000 and they were accommodated in 58 prisons and 41 detention camps for the minor offenders. At the height of the present emergency the staff of the Department was increased to 457 Europeans and 14,000 Africans, and the daily average number of prisoners increased to 86,634 in all establishments, which also had to be increased from 99 to 176 by the construction of temporary camps. The approved schools and probation service had by this time been removed from the Department.

Mr. Heaton stated that very few of the men recruited to the Prisons Service during the emergency had any previous experience and it was "virtually impossible to give them the required training". The position was aggravated by the necessity of taking defence measures at prisons and camps holding Mau Mau. "Under such circumstances there is little wonder that normal prison procedure and routine suffered somewhat. . . . During visits to numerous establishments I found the morale and discipline of the staff good and the inmates well fed, clothed, and housed. I did not come across any form of rough handling of inmates by the staff; this in itself impressed me, for there is little doubt that many of the Kikuyu staff have suffered grievously at the hands of the Mau Mau, and it is amazing that no serious reprisals did in fact take place." Mr. Heaton admitted that it was possible that minor incidents had occurred, but all institutions were visited regularly by senior officers of the Prisons Department and every opportunity was given for prisoners to make complaints.

Speaking of the need for well-trained permanent officers in the future he said: "The task of the permanent staff will be a difficult one owing to constant changes of temporary personnel, but the future of the Prisons Service depends on them, and it will be their duty to build up a strong sense of *esprit de corps*, which alone will counteract the influence of Mau Mau."

Mr. Heaton criticized such vast institutions as Manyani and Embakasi. In his opinion no penal institution should contain more than 400 to 500 inmates. Numbers in each camp should be reduced as soon as possible. He drew attention to the need for an approved school for the girls at present held in the Kamiti temporary prison and detention camp. He praised the work of the Community Development Department and the Christian Council of Kenya in this camp, but said that in his view, with the exception of Kamiti, all rehabilitation work should be undertaken by the staff of the Prisons Department. There could be no division of responsibility, as the officer in charge must alone be responsible to the Commission for the administration and routine of his prison. Mr. Heaton welcomed the appointment of a chaplain to the Department to co-ordinate the work of Christian teaching in prison establishments, adding that he was "one of the many who firmly believe that such teaching is the real answer for those unfortunates who have, either by force or willingly, adopted the disgusting faith of the Mau Mau".

The Kenya Government, commenting on Mr. Heaton's recom-

¹Government Printer, Nairobi.

mendations, supported the recommendation that the larger detention and prison camps should be reduced and stated that Manyani was now accommodating a little under 10,000 and that two of the larger camps (Langata and Mackinnon Road) had been closed in 1955. "The population of Manyani is more than twice that of Embakasi, and it is considered that priority in rehabilitation effort and so in opportunity for release must be given to those who have been detained rather than to those convicted in a court of law of a specific offence." Plans for reducing the population of Manyani were described.

A new rehabilitation approach was being developed and there would be rehabilitation camps for those detainees who appeared initially to be irreconcilable, but who have begun to show signs of co-operation.

Detainees in the Mwea camps are transferred to works camps in their own districts as fast as their response to rehabilitation make it possible for this to be done. In this way the works camps in the Central Province are likely to have a steady flow of detainees on their way to release until about the middle of 1957. As soon as a sufficient number of detainees have been rehabilitated and released, and it is possible to manage with less detention camps in the districts, the intention is that one works camp in each district will be adapted from being a detention camp to be a prison camp. Mau Mau convicts now at Embakasi will be transferred to these special district prison camps, as recommended by Mr. Heaton, for intensive rehabilitation under local influence. This should be possible soon after the middle of 1957.

"Valuable work has been done in the last three years in the rehabilitation of thousands of members of Mau Mau. At the height of the emergency some 72,000 members of Mau Mau were in detention and prison camps in the Colony. The number of members of Mau Mau still in detention and prison camps now is about 44,000, and they are being released at an average rate of 1,500 per month."

Commenting on Mr. Heaton's proposal for rehabilitation work to be transferred to the Prisons Department, the Government say: "The Department of Community Development was given the specific task of rehabilitating the members of Mau Mau, and in this way they have done very good work. As Mau Mau convicts are released in increasing numbers, however, the emphasis has changed, and it is becoming more important for the Department's resources to be concentrated on those detainees who appear so far to be irreconcilable, and whose release would, therefore, still be a serious security risk. By the middle of 1957 the bulk of the short- and medium-term Mau Mau convicts will have finished their prison sentences, and those remaining will be, for the most part, those convicted of the more serious criminal offences, and therefore best dealt with by ordinary prison methods. . . . It has been decided, therefore, that responsibility for rehabilitation in prisons should be transferred from the Department of Community Development to the Prisons Department, with effect from the middle of 1957." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 25, 1956.)

Comment in Britain

The *Manchester Guardian* (October 17, 1956), commenting on Mr. Heaton's report, said many people in this country would want to know what the report said of Miss Fletcher's allegations¹ about the women and juvenile prisoners. "The answer is 'Nothing'. There is no reference at all to these or any other specific points. It may be argued that it was no part of Mr. Heaton's terms of reference to look into questions of this kind, or that in any case enough has already

¹DIGEST IV, 1.

been said in answer to them. But surely it was a pity not to take the chance of Mr. Heaton's presence to get to the bottom of this affair. It seems one more instance of that indifference in Kenya to what is being said or thought here, which is natural enough and often justifiable, but is also liable sometimes to cost Kenya so dear."

In the House of Commons (October 31, 1956) the Colonial Secretary denied that investigations made by his department justified Miss Fletcher's allegations, and told Members that a full statement by the Colonial Office was available. This, he suggested, should be sent by M.P.'s to everyone asking them for information.

Appeal to the United Nations

The *East African Standard* (August 22, 1956) reported that a letter alleging the "wholesale violation of human rights" by the Kenya Government has been sent to the United Nations Secretary-General, by the International League for the Rights of Man in New York. The League said that the Kenya Government had violated six articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and asked the Secretary-General to take such action as the rules of the United Nations permitted.

The League stated that specific evidence of cases had come from a former officer of the Kenya Government, Miss Eileen Fletcher; from the record of debates in the House of Commons; from officials of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; and from the British Press in East Africa.

Tanganyika

Views on Constitutional Advance

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, President of the Tanganyika African National Union,¹ addressing a Press conference in London on September 27, 1956, said: "T.A.N.U. feels that if the present happy relations in Tanganyika are to continue it is essential that there be a definite statement of policy from the British Government about the future constitutional development of the territory." A statement that Tanganyika was ultimately to become a democracy must be accompanied by a change in the present composition of the Legislative and Executive Councils. Equal representation of all the three main racial groups had been accepted by Africans for the life of one Legislative Council only, and was regarded as a transitional stage towards ultimate democracy. From 1958 unofficial representation in the Legislative and Executive Councils must therefore be based on equality between Africans and non-Africans. The official nominated representatives should also be appointed on the same basis.

Mr. Nyerere added: "It is perhaps necessary to point out that T.A.N.U.'s proposals still leave, at this stage, 50 per cent of the representation for 1½ per cent of the population of the country."

Referring to the Government's proposals for a restricted franchise T.A.N.U. demands elections throughout the territory on a basis of universal franchise.

Sir Eldred Hitchcock, M.L.C., in a statement to the Press said: "The political issue which now concerns us is our approach to constitutional advance. We have to decide where we stand with regard to the elections to be held in 1958." Summarizing the Government's policy, Sir Eldred said: "Provisions for elections have been made by an Order-in-Council to enable them to be held in 1958, at least in some constituencies. Government has examined various systems and taken the view that this development should proceed by stages. At

¹DIGEST III, 8.

this stage progress should be on the basis of the right of voting according to qualifications. . . .

"A common roll is proposed and each qualified voter is to vote for a candidate of each race in order to secure a multi-racial legislature.

"For the qualification of candidates, domicile is the first essential; they are also to have fluent literacy in English or Swahili, sufficient to enable them to read the Legislative Council documents. It is necessary at present for them to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. That disqualifies an important proportion of the European population of Tanganyika, and while not entirely within the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement is obviously a difficult constitutional point involving Tanganyika citizenship. Each candidate must be supported by an adequate number of qualified voters of the candidate's own race, and pay a deposit to be forfeited if he does not gain a minimum number of voters. In these matters Tanganyika is guided by the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement entered into by the British Government with the United Nations on behalf of Tanganyika in 1946." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, October 4, 1956.)

The Governor, Sir Edward Twining, addressing the Sisal Growers' Association, spoke of Tanganyika's unique constitutional position as a Trust Territory. He said: "The only possible solution is to build up a form of Government in which all the inhabitants can participate. Parity, whether in its present form or in any other form, does not provide the final answer. It has been a big step forward and is working astonishingly well. It would be as premature to change it at this time as it would be to talk realistically about self-government, or even about responsible government. The Tanganyika Government has been impatiently criticized for being obstinate. There is no substance whatsoever in such a charge, and those who are impatient for their airy-fairy dreams to come true mistake firmness for obstinacy. Memories are notoriously short, but one only has to look back over the last few years to see the remarkable changes that have taken place. The political, economic, and social status of the African population has been greatly enhanced, and as time goes on the process will gather momentum. But it is Government's responsibility to make sure that we do not go too fast and that we consolidate each position before we move forward. . . .

"We cannot risk moving at too fast a pace, because chaos would result, and even if for a short period a few self-appointed leaders did enjoy a short spell of apparent power, the resulting collapse of the economy would be far too high a price to pay. So we must go forward in an orderly way." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, November 8, 1956.)

Capital from Canada

The Canadian Trade Commissioner for Central and East Africa has said that quite a lot of capital in Canada is available for any "good propositions" in Tanganyika. The Commissioner said that the present balance of trade between East Africa and Canada, which was about fifteen to one in favour of the former, was much too one-sided. There should be a closer relationship between dollar earnings and the granting of dollar permits to importers. Tanganyika should send representatives to Canada to convince prospective investors that investment terms were more favourable than those prevailing in Canada, and that they would get a greater return from money invested in Tanganyika. (*Tanganyika Standard*, September 21, 1956.)

Farm School for All Races

"Large-scale mechanized cultivation by Africans is coming," said Mr. R. de S. Stapledon, Acting Governor of Tanganyika, when he opened the first Morogoro show. Co-operative ploughing societies

had, he said, already started in the Rufiji district. . . . Much attention was being paid to agricultural education in primary and middle schools and the establishment of young farmers' clubs. Wami farm school, which was to be started next year with a dozen Asian pupils, would be open to all races as it developed." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, September 13, 1956.)

Uganda

Congress Party Split

FOURTEEN members of the Central Committee of the Uganda National Congress resigned following disagreements with the party's president and founder, Mr. I. M. K. Musazi, on major issues of policy. Those who resigned included some of the party's senior officials, among them the vice-president, Joseph Zake; the assistant secretary, Erisa Kironde, and the treasurer, Dr. Muwazi. Of the original committee only three members remain. They are Mr. Musazi himself; the secretary-general, Dr. J. N. Kununka, and the chairman, Mr. Joseph Kiwanuka.

A statement issued by the resigning members claimed that Mr. Musazi had failed to submit to party discipline and that he had made statements in the name of the party without consulting either the Central Committee or his other colleagues. In particular, it criticized the president for supporting the extension of Sir Andrew Cohen's tour as Governor of Uganda while the party's official policy was one of opposition to all forms of alien imperialist rule.

The president subsequently denied the charges made against him and said he had always been ready to bow to the discipline imposed by the "party line". Mr. Kiwanuka, on his return from a visit to England, announced that new members of the Central Executive would shortly be chosen. He described the accusations against Mr. Musazi as "baseless and unwarranted" and the resignation of the fourteen members as "childish and silly".

The *Manchester Guardian* (October 3, 1956) commented: "In the last few years Congress has won almost a monopoly over African political opinion, but it has never developed good leadership. Instead while popular emotion has been roused and then left to stew unattended, the central committee has wasted time over the cult of several dissident personalities. During the Kabaka's exile the absence of these old leaders allowed Mr. Sekabanya to take over the party, give it a proper constitution, and use it as a bargaining force in a thoroughly efficient way. The returning exiles undid his work and contrived his fall. Since that time, new and younger blood in the central committee has become increasingly resentful of Mr. Joseph Kiwanuka's unpredictable rule as chairman."

New Political Party

The former Omulamuzi of Buganda, Mr. Matayo Mugwanya, is president of the Democratic Party, which has recently published its preliminary manifesto. This calls for equal human and political rights for all sections of the community in the Protectorate and for self-government within the British Commonwealth "as soon as possible".

Mr. J. C. Makayo, a member of the executive committee, said the fundamental aim of the party was to secure proper representation for all sections of the community at all levels of government in order that ultimate independence for Uganda might be ensured. The establishment of a Central Assembly for Uganda, with representatives from every tribe, an increase in the number of Africans in the Civil Service and a comprehensive development plan were necessary

before self-government could be achieved. (*East African Standard*, August 21, 1956.)

Mr. Mulira's Expulsion

Mr. E. M. K. Mulira, leader of the Progressive Party, was expelled from the Lukiko of Buganda because he and two other members walked out of the chamber soon after his motion for direct elections had been defeated. The *Uganda Argus* (July 18, 1956) commented: "The Speaker holds that he has power to expel Mr. Mulira and fine the other members under native law and custom. The Standing Orders for the Lukiko issued in 1946 state that on points not covered in them native law and custom will apply. Fresh Standing Orders for the Lukiko have been drafted in which there is no such provision, but these have not been finally approved. There is also the question of how native law and custom applies to the facts. The offence Mr. Mulira is said to have committed is displaying anger in the presence of the Throne. Mr. Mulira denied in a letter to the Speaker that he was angry. . . ."

"The essence of custom is the observance of precedents. What are they? Native custom clearly cannot just be whatever those in power want it to be at any given time. This would be to make a mockery of it. The value of tradition to a people is great and no one would wish to show disrespect to custom. But there is a case in the light of the introduction of a Constitutional Monarchy for codifying and stabilizing custom so that people may know what it is. One of the elements would be a proper system of reporting the decisions of the courts to make sure that the precedents of native law and custom are consistently applied."

Toro Reforms¹—The Governor's View

A warning that the African Kingdom of Toro would fall behind other parts of the Protectorate of Uganda if the present deadlock in negotiations for a revised constitutional agreement continued, was given by the Governor, Sir Andrew Cohen, when he addressed the Toro Rukurato (Parliament) this week.

The Governor said that the people of Toro were no more advanced than the people of the neighbouring African kingdoms of Bunyoro and Ankole. Unless the Rukurato changed its attitude, Sir Andrew said, there would be no alternative but for Toro to continue under the existing constitutional agreement. (*Agence France-Presse*, November 6, 1956.)

Students' Hostel Opened in London

Mutesa House, a hostel for Uganda students in London, was opened last week by Lord Lloyd, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was purchased by the Buganda Government, who have presented it to the Buganda Students' Union, and it is open to all students from Uganda, not only those from Buganda.

The Kabaka was represented at the opening ceremony by his Minister of Education, Mr. A. K. Sempa. Among those present was the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher.

Somaliland

Dispute with Ethiopia²

"THE TIMES" (October 25, 27, 29 and 30, 1956) published special dispatches under the headings: "Harsh Ethiopian methods of subduing Somalis", "Torture of Haud Tribesman", "Task of Protecting

300,000 Nomadic Tribesmen", "Ethiopian Claims to British Somali Tribes". In the course of the articles their Special Correspondent said: "The Ethiopians are trying to seize or win over British protected persons from Somaliland. If they are successful, it will be only a matter of time before Somaliland comes under their control; for British Somaliland cannot survive without the Haud, and without British Somaliland there can be no hope of a federated and independent greater Somalia. . . ."

"Tribal raiding is no new development here, and normally the British Somalis are no better behaved than the Ethiopian tribes. Both are possessed by a desire to acquire, legally or otherwise, every camel they see. Both are impatient with authority, British or Ethiopian, and willing to play off one against the other. But Ethiopian pressure has, for the most part, closed their ranks and made them more dependent than ever before on British protection.

"It is no less difficult to understand the Ethiopian threats and pressures, unless the objectives of forcing these British tribes to accept Ethiopian nationality is kept clearly in mind. The many thousands of men, women and children concentrated here among herds of camels, cattle, sheep, and goats, belong to the Habr Awal, the largest Ishaak tribe in British Somaliland. The tribe numbers more than 100,000, and if they are forced to submit, other tribes will almost certainly follow.

"The dispute cannot be settled by force, but until it is settled at a higher level, every effort must be made to stop further deterioration. The stationing of 700 tribal policemen here, adequately armed and equipped with transport and wireless, would reassure the tribes and deter the Ethiopian officials. All the tribal leaders and tribal policemen your Correspondent has met believe this measure to be necessary."

Questioning whether the protection afforded by the British liaison group can continue to be effective, the Correspondent said there were three factors. The first is the economic compulsion of Somali nomadic life, if a Marxist phrase can be adapted to such primitive existence. . . . This is difficult to appreciate unless the economics of Somali nomadism is understood. Everything depends on the survival of the herds; there is no alternative source of sustenance. Under British protection, it is often possible to leave the old people and the women and children in some encampment in British Somaliland, where relief measures are available. . . .

"At present the grazing is excellent, and the tribes can afford to move their herds as the chess game played by the British liaison officers and the Ethiopian authorities develops. But the rains will soon stop. The grazing will diminish, and once again the inexorable search for new grazing will begin. . . . The Ethiopian authorities will be able to control the surviving grazing and the tribes who are to use it.

"The second factor is the long-term objective of transforming the Haud into an agricultural area. This depends on the discovery of water, but the Ethiopian Government has retained a foreign company to prospect and field work is already in progress. This objective is contrary to the terms of the agreement, and is intended to force the nomads to settle and become Ethiopian peasants.

"The third factor is the weakness of the 1954 agreement. Its preamble does not designate the tribes claiming British protection, which enables Ethiopia to seize any tribe it may want to claim, for if a tribe is labelled Ethiopian it is automatically excluded from the agreement. This is the largest of a number of loopholes, and provides the Ethiopians with an opportunity to further their unique form of imperial expansion."

The Ethiopian Ambassador in London in a letter to *The Times*

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

²DIGEST IV, 1 and 2.

(November 14, 1956) describes the dispatches as written in a "partisan spirit".

"The task of the authorities is difficult in any circumstances and it is to be hoped that it will not be further inflamed by insinuations of political expediency that appear to have dominated your Correspondent's approach to the problem. . . .

"I regret the gross misrepresentations which your Correspondent saw fit to pick up and repeat regarding certain police actions, judicial trials, and executions that took place several years ago" which at the time of publication "were effectively dealt with by my Government and the truth with regard to these calumnies is not hidden from those who would see aright".

SOUTH AFRICA

Important African Conference

NEARLY 400 African representatives of religious, social, cultural, economic and educational bodies attended the Conference in Bloemfontein sponsored by the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation in October. Chief Albert Luthuli, President of the African National Congress, who had not been able to address public meetings for some years owing to Government bannings, spoke at the Conference, as the most recent banning order had just expired. He expressed the hope that the conference might lead to the holding of a "multi-racial conference, one truly representative of South Africa", to adjust race relations in the Union. He was loudly cheered when he warned delegates not to "fall into the error that white South Africa had made in rejecting racial co-operation. We must never do that," he said. "We must always be willing to co-operate with other racial groups in a land that has been developed by our united efforts."

About a dozen members of the Special Branch of the South African Police attended the congress and verbatim reports were made of every speech. Among those who attended the conference were Native Parliamentary Representatives—Senator and Mrs. W. G. Ballinger and Mr. Walter Stanford.

An African journalist, Mr. Jordan K. Ngubane, commenting on the fact that the conference concentrated on the Tomlinson Report, said this gave it an opportunity to make a detailed examination of *apartheid* as expounded there. African experts read papers on the various sections.

The conference unanimously rejected the Tomlinson Report in a resolution consisting of six pages, drawn up by a committee which included Dr. A. B. Xuma, Prof. Z. K. Matthews, Chief A. J. Luthuli and Mr. D. Nokwe, a Johannesburg advocate.

Among the resolutions were the following: "This conference is convinced that the present policy of *apartheid* constitutes a serious threat to race relations in South Africa. Therefore in the interests of all people and the future of our country, this conference calls upon all national organizations to mobilize all people, irrespective of race, colour and creed to form a united front against *apartheid*."

"This conference appeals to the churches in South Africa to take a clear and unequivocal stand against *apartheid* in defence of Christian and human values now being trampled underfoot in the name of *apartheid*." The conference also appealed to the Dutch Reformed Church to re-examine its approach to race relations.

It found the net result of the implementation of the Tomlinson Report would mean the continued existence of the worst evils of the present situation and their extension to the Bantu areas. . . .

The conference noted that the Government itself had, in its White

Paper, rejected some of the principal recommendations of the Commission and thus undermined the goals it set out to achieve. Thus the claim that the Government was moving in the direction of these goals emerged as a hollow political bluff.

It demanded the repeal of all discriminatory laws and regulations militating against harmonious race relations in South Africa. The continuation of the Government's policy, the resolutions stated, had already created a situation in which the safety of the State was seriously threatened. Police raids, banishment orders, dismissals for political non-conformity, extension of the pass system to women, detention camps, farm prisons, convict labour, the slave markets—euphemistically called labour bureaus—and all the other trappings of a police state constituted an unbearable burden for the Africans. It also denied them a share in the government of the country, inviolability of the home, economic rights, the right to collective bargaining and to sell labour on the best market, the right to free assembly and to freedom of travel and association and inviolability of the person.

The recommendations on education were unacceptable because they sought to prepare children for life in a community which did not exist—a mythical Bantustan. Economic and world developments tended to force Africans in the opposite direction of economical interdependence. One of the tests of a good educational system was whether it could produce leaders of character and ability.

In spite of the promises made about separate development, it seemed that the training of future leaders did not command an important place in the new education system. The education offered was superficial. The use of the African language as a medium of instruction would tend to reduce horizons and make university education impossible because of separation from the wider world outside.

The contemplated establishment of Bantu university colleges was a further threat to academic freedom. The college established under such a scheme would be isolated from other universities and starved of economic support.

The conference disagreed with the Tomlinson Commission about a State church, and found it difficult to appreciate its reason for recommending an increase in direct taxation of the Bantu. The Commission seemed to have taken no account of the increase in the number of Africans paying income-tax or of the inequity of the present system of taxation of Africans. The belief that it was White moneys financing African health and welfare services totally disregarded the fact that the profits made by Europeans came from the activities of the Non-Europeans and the low wages paid to them. In other words, it was the Africans who were subsidizing the Europeans and not the other way round. (*Pretoria News*, October 9, 1956.)

Commenting on the conference, the *Rand Daily Mail* political correspondent said that extremism was rejected. He added: "Listening to these African leaders, I came to the conclusion that it will take only a few more years of negative *apartheid* for the 'point of no return' to be reached in Black-White relations in South Africa. For they made it abundantly clear that they are not prepared to endure for much longer a form of *apartheid* based solely on White 'baaskap'."

Mr. Ngubane, writing in the *Johannesburg Star* (November, 1956), pointed out that "under the impact of *apartheid* Non-European unity is steadily becoming a living reality while the rift in the White community widens as more and more Europeans realize that the White skin has lost much of its value as a qualification for privilege". He referred to the growing sense of solidarity amongst the various African groups and added: "Externally the present climate of world opinion is clearly in sympathy with the African."

The South African Indian Congress at its biennial conference supported the bold and courageous decisions of the conference. The S. A. Labour Party wholeheartedly supported the conference proposal for a multi-racial conference.

Nationalist newspapers dismissed the conference as a fiasco because of its rejection of the Tomlinson Report, in spite of the fact that the Government itself had failed to endorse all the report. The English language Press welcomed the reasonableness of the African delegates and some editorials called for urgent consultation between the Whites and the leaders of responsible African thought.

Famous Artists Perform for "Non-Europeans"

Yehudi Menuhin, Dame Margot Fonteyn, Segovia, Guido Cantelli, and Pierre Fournier were among the artists who performed before Non-European audiences during the Johannesburg Festival. The London Symphony Orchestra gave a concert.

Mr. Menuhin had insisted that if he performed at the Festival he must give such a concert. His audience was taut and attentive and their applause was followed by several encores. A number of the City Council congratulated him on giving the concert for Non-Europeans.

Mr. Menuhin, replying, said, "As an artist you cannot consider what people look like. I have heard my audience of tonight spoken of as Non-Europeans. I only hope you have not minded being played for by a Non-African." (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 23, 1956.)

More than 1,000 people waited four hours to see Margot Fonteyn in a rehearsal of *Swan Lake*. *Golden City Post's* African reporter commented: "Her first appearance on the stage took our breath away. We haven't seen anything like her dancing before and we probably will never again. She is Perfection. The exquisite grace of every moment, the angle of her head, the eloquence of her arms, her serenity, her intelligence, her lightness, and her vitality . . . these were things that made you want to cry or shout for joy. And cry and shout we did. The waiting, the faults of the orchestra . . . all these things were forgotten in the beauty of Fonteyn dancing.

"If only we could see her giving a full performance in costume." (*Golden City Post*, October 21, 1956.)

A correspondent of the Africa Bureau in Johannesburg referred to a wonderful recital by the leading members of La Scala Opera Company. He said: "All the Non-Europeans who were at this recital said 'Why only a recital in plain clothes? Can't you give us an opera whole?' The answer was the Festival Committee did want to give them an opera, and La Scala were willing; but the management of His Majesty's Theatre (African Consolidated Theatres) refused to lease the theatre, even for a separate performance for Non-Whites."

A few Non-Europeans urged a boycott of the performances, on the grounds that they were arranged on an *apartheid* basis, but articles by well-known Africans in *Golden City Post* (September 23, 1956) and *New Age* (October 18, 1956) put strong arguments against such action. In the former, Mr. M. Nkoana asked: "What is the point in trying to boycott the artists? They have nothing to do with it. Apart from that, why neglect the opportunity, if available, of hearing and seeing world-famous artists—an opportunity that may never occur again. Here is something we Non-Whites have hungered for in our culture-starved lives."

Group Areas Controversy

Mr. Christopher Gell in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* (September 23, 1956) described the tragic pattern that is unfolding as the Group Areas Act is worked out. He said: "In Durban, originally 15,000 Europeans were to be moved, but public outcry reduced this

to 3,000 (about 2 per cent of the city's White population); meanwhile the City Council proposes to move about 120,000 Natives (80 per cent), 106,000 Indians (65 per cent) and 13,000 Coloureds (75 per cent). In Port Elizabeth, the Council's proposals will move perhaps 2,000 Europeans (but more probably only a few hundred), 25,000 Natives (33 per cent), 5,000 Asiatics (100 per cent), and 20,000 Coloureds (45 per cent). The Cape Town proposals will involve several hundred thousand Coloureds and many thousand more Europeans than anywhere else in the Union.

"In terms of money, the comparison is no less one-sided. In Durban Non-Europeans will lose properties worth about £25 million against the Europeans £2 million. In Port Elizabeth, Indians alone will lose £2 million in property, the Chinese perhaps £1 million. In Rustenburg, Indians will exchange their properties worth more than £250,000 for European properties worth £30,000, and they will lose half their £100,000 gross income from trade. Both they and the Coloured community are being offered an area where the subsoil is so shifting that building societies will not advance loans."

Considerable publicity was given to the proposals for Ficksburg, a small town in the Free State, bordering on Basutoland. Its European population of about 3,000 is largely dependent on the proceeds of commerce carried out with Basuto. Because the entire economy has been threatened by the Native Affairs Department, which has insisted on a zoning plan to keep Basutos out of the central shopping area, the residents are opposing the implementation of the Act. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 20, 1956.)

The *Manchester Guardian* (October 25, 1956) described the African model village of Sobantu, near Pietermaritzburg, with its community hall, clinic, schools and churches set in beautiful surroundings. Under the Act this village is to be closed down and the whole population moved a few miles in another direction. Strenuous opposition from the municipal authorities has led to the granting of an extension of about thirty years. This will mean that no new developments are possible and there will be every inducement to neglect maintenance, so that the village generally is likely to deteriorate.

Protests against the implementation of the Act have continued. At a meeting sponsored by the Black Sash Women in Cape Town about 1,000 people protested. Mr. Donald Molteno, Q.C., said that in an area from Observatory to Retreat, on the western side of the Peninsula, there were about 19,000 Non-Europeans and 20,000 Europeans, yet it was proposed to exclude the Non-Europeans altogether. Sixty-seven Non-European schools in this area would, presumably, be closed down.

The Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev. T. J. Savage, said that if the Group Areas Act were implemented, it would be an act of sin and sabotage. (*Pretoria News*, September, 1956.)

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Geoffrey Clayton, in the journal of the diocese, said that the principle underlying the Group Areas Act was wrong wherever it was to be applied. But in the Peninsula, a scheme of racial zoning could not be carried out without inflicting widespread hardship and injustice. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October, 1956.)

The Bishop of Pretoria, the Rt. Rev. R. S. Taylor, in his Charge to Synod, strongly criticized the Act and its effects.

The Johannesburg Synod unanimously passed a resolution urging the Government to withdraw the promulgation of the Act in the western suburbs of Johannesburg.

At a meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Durban, Mr. Alan Paton said that the Act was "an erosion of the spiritual values underlying civilization". Mr. Paton and Chief

Luthuli, president of the African Congress, joined Natal Indian Congress speakers at a protest meeting of more than 1,000 people.

The Liberal Party (of which Mr. Patrick Duncan has become national organizer), the Labour Party (in an open letter to the Prime Minister) and the S.A. Indian Congress have protested.

Expenditure on Native Services

Mr. E. Malan, Chief Research Officer of the United Party, referred to conflicting figures issued by the State Information Office and by the Government. He said that Dr. Verwoerd had told the Free State Congress of the Nationalist Party that the Government had spent no more on Native services than the amount that the Natives had themselves contributed in indirect taxation. The Minister's estimate of the amount was between £30 million and £40 million a year.

"In statements issued by the State Information Office for the outside world, it was stated that £30 million is being spent on Native social, educational and health services, but no mention is made of the contribution made by Natives in indirect taxation.

"In a statistical survey of the Information Office the Natives' contribution in indirect taxation is dismissed with the words—'It cannot be estimated'."

Mr. Malan asked: "Doesn't the Information Office accept Dr. Verwoerd's estimate of between £30 million and £40 million?"

The Tomlinson Commission had estimated that the Natives contributed £5½ million annually in indirect taxation and had stated in its report that this amount must be regarded as a maximum estimate of the Bantu's contribution.

"The difference between the Commission's estimate and that of Dr. Verwoerd is nearly 600 per cent. No wonder the man in the street is confused about the value of the Government's contribution to Native services." (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 24, 1956.)

Another member of the United Party, Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., after a visit abroad, said that the State Information Office "sent glossy pamphlets" to all parts of the world claiming that the Whites in South Africa spent £30 million a year on services for the Natives.

"But when the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, was castigated by his own supporters at the Free State Nationalist Congress for spending too much money on Natives, he produced figures to show that the Native population contributes about £2½ million a year in direct taxation, and between £30 million and £40 million a year in indirect taxes."

Dr. Verwoerd's calculations were of particular interest, because previous estimates had never put the Natives' contribution through indirect taxation higher than £10 million a year. . . .

Mrs. Suzman said that Dr. Verwoerd had not attempted to assess the value to the country of Native labour. "The Union's economy is based on cheap Native labour. If we are not prepared to abandon that policy and pay decent living wages, we must accept the fact that a proportion of the essential services for Natives will have to be subsidized." (*Rand Daily Mail*, September, 1956.)

The State Information Office has not referred to the position of African schoolchildren who cannot be given lunches. In an appeal in the *Rand Daily Mail*, the African School Foundation Fund pointed out that: "Of the 30,000 Native schoolchildren in Pretoria only 5,000, the most undernourished, will be given a bite to eat during school hours," provided people responded to the appeal, but there was every likelihood that all 30,000 children would go hungry at school. The Government had once subsidized the feeding scheme, inadequate as it was, but this was discontinued so that more children could go to school.

The member of the Native Affairs Committee responsible for Bantu education, Mr. W. A. Maree, M.P., after saying that the security of the White races was threatened unless every White man set an example to the Bantu in the way he lived and did his work added: "Some people criticize the Department of Native Affairs because they say too much work is being done for the Natives. Others say that not enough is being done for them.

"It is time we realized that what is being done for the Native is in the interests of the European. Local authorities, for example, are providing housing for Natives not out of love for them but in the interests of employers, who are European, and the community as a whole." (*Rand Daily Mail*, September, 1956.)

Ban on African Barrister

Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, replied to a protest from the Johannesburg Bar Council asking for reversal of the ban preventing Mr. P. Nokwe, the African Advocate, from taking up chambers in the centre of Johannesburg.¹ The Minister accused the Council of having taken the matter up for "leftist and other political propaganda purposes".

In a letter to the *Rand Daily Mail*, Mr. D. M. John pointed out that the State Information Office, in one of the glossy publications it circulated abroad, had "featured Mr. Nokwe's admission to the Bar prominently and with an air of unctuous pride—as if any credit at all was due to the Government that Mr. Nokwe, by sheer hard work, had been able to surmount the formidable barriers to advancement in the path of any ambitious African. His achievement, the State Information Office implied, proved how prejudiced and unjust were those who dared accuse the Government of being unsympathetic to African aspirations." He asked whether the State Information Office would tell the overseas public that the Government had prevented Mr. Nokwe from practising.

Apartheid at the Universities

At the University of the Witwatersrand more than 800 students went on strike on September 19 and did not attend lectures as a protest against the Union Government's proposal to enforce apartheid in universities.

More than 1,500 students of all races at Cape Town University passed a resolution by 923 votes to 15 reaffirming their belief in the policy of academic desegregation and in principles of university independence. The resolution pledged full support for the students of Witwatersrand University in their "active stand against threats of segregation". (*India News*, October 13, 1956.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that the majority of staffs at the two universities were also opposed, and that the proposal was described by the Students' Representative Council of both universities as "legislative interference with the fundamental and accepted right of a university to decide for itself whom it should teach." (October 5, 1956.)

An investigating commission of the International Student Conference called on National Student Unions throughout the world to show their disapproval of the South African Government's proposal. (*Tanganyika Standard*, August 22, 1956.)

Ceylon students, at a conference in Colombo, condemned South Africa's apartheid policy, and offered to help Coloured students to get a higher education in the universities of Ceylon.

Meanwhile, the Council of Natal University, which normally

¹Digest IV, 1.

segregates the races, decided that at the next graduation ceremony of the university there will be no *apartheid* among graduands waiting to receive their degrees. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 31, 1956.)

Black and White Blood

The Medical Council of South Africa has decided to introduce *apartheid* between black and white blood, with black labels for bottles of blood of Non-Europeans and white labels for the other. This decision aroused much criticism in the English-speaking Press, and the Southern Transvaal Branch of the Medical Association proposed a motion expressing no confidence in the Council. An editorial in the journal *Medical Proceedings* said that blood *apartheid* would expose the South African medical profession to the scorn and ridicule of the civilized world. Two hundred medical students at Cape Town University also expressed concern.

Labour Problems Under Apartheid

The Minister of Labour, Senator De Klerk, said there were thousands of Europeans in South Africa who, because of physical or mental handicaps, could not compete on an equal footing with Non-Europeans.

"There is a danger that the lowest group of Whites will meet the highest of Non-Europeans, with detrimental consequences to the living standards of the Whites. This group of Whites is condemned to unskilled work, or even unemployment, unless they are aided by the State." (*Pretoria News*, August, 1956.)

In a later statement, the Minister said that 104 Europeans are employed by Asiatics in South Africa. He was considering what steps could be taken to solve this problem.

One of the staff of Witwatersrand Technical College said there was little reason why Africans cannot do many of the jobs now done by Whites in the Union's mining industry—apart from the fears of White workers that they might become redundant.

He said that Government legislation was keeping even inefficient Whites in jobs and the Africans out of jobs, and added that he was only stating facts and was suggesting nothing. (*Rand Daily Mail*, September, 1956.)

Dr. Louis Steenkamp, United Party M.P., estimated that it would cost South Africa at least £400 million a year if it were to replace its Native labour force by Europeans on a basis of one European for every two Natives. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October, 1956.)

Bantu Education

The Department of Native Affairs has given more details of the new system of education for Africans in rural areas, to replace what had largely been done by mission schools. The new system will give farmers on whose land schools have been built a decisive say, not only in the conduct of the school but over the staffs of such schools. . . .

It will enable farmers to obtain from the Department of Native Affairs building material, mainly roofing, doors and windows, for building the school. . . . The farmer will act as "manager", a task which he can delegate to someone else, and he will also be able to control the teaching staff . . . as he controls his own Native servants. . . . (*Cape Argus*, September 26, 1956.)

Dorau Tyana, a 30-year-old housewife, was fined £25 (or two months) in the Port Elizabeth Magistrate's Court for maintaining an illegal school. She was charged under the Bantu Education Act. (*Rand Daily Mail*, September 27, 1956.)

Riot Near Pretoria

A riot in the African township of Vlakkfontein was caused by the "precipitate and ill-advised action which was taken by location police boys acting on instructions from the location superintendent", the Chief Native Commissioner for Pretoria, Mr. J. O. Cornell, said after listening to the grievances of the residents. (*Pretoria News*, October, 1956.)

A force of about 250 South African Police had been stoned from behind a "human barrier" of Native children by an excited mob of about 1,500 Natives in the location. Three policemen were struck by flying stones and were injured, but not seriously. The police were armed with Sten guns, rifles and knobkerries. A few shots were fired over the heads of the Natives, but none was hit. About 20 Natives, seven suffering from bullet wounds and the other 13 from head and arm injuries, were admitted to the Pretoria General Hospital after the disturbance. . . .

The Police District Commandant said that as far as he could determine, none of the few shots fired by the police during the disturbance struck Natives. There was he said, fighting among the Natives in other parts of the location. It was possible that most of the casualties admitted to hospital were caused in these fights. Only a few shots were fired into the ground and into the air. No automatic weapons were used by the police. . . . (*Johannesburg Sunday Times*, October 28, 1956.)

The reasons given for the riot, which started when 500 women stoned the beerhall, were that the beerhall had been the first building to be erected before schools, shops, clinic or health schemes by the City Council, and the women had complained that the men's wages were spent there and the wives and children suffered. Also their fowl runs had been broken down by the local authorities; their vegetable gardens were torn up; and their fruit trees were uprooted because, they were told, the location was becoming untidy.

Removal of Africans

The proposal of the Native Affairs Department to move a tribe of African fruit farmers from land which it had occupied for 200 years to a piece of bare veldt was mitigated after the case had been widely reported in the overseas Press. The Mamaholas were told by the Minister for Native Affairs that they would be moved to a new area twice the size of the old and that an economic existence would be ensured. The land on which the tribe have farmed very successfully for two centuries is to be given to local white farmers.

The Department ordered the removal of a colony of Rhodesian Africans who had been living near Port Elizabeth for some eight years. The Government claimed they were illegal immigrants. In condemning the Deportation Order, Mr. Quintin Whyte, president of the Institute of Race Relations said that the 1,360 Africans' fares home would cost £6,500. Mr. Whyte added: "Our information is that the members of the community cannot pay this price without the loss of virtually everything they possess."

"They have always been an exemplary community. Their religion compels them to obey the law. They have probably the cleanest record of any community, white or black, in the country."

"It seems to indicate a serious gap in our citizenship legislation that there is apparently no means by which Africans of this quality can become naturalized citizens of the Union." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 4, 1956.)

The Port Elizabeth City Council favoured the Africans remaining because they were industrious and very well behaved. They were due to leave in batches of 25 every fortnight so that they will all have left the Union by the end of 1956. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 13, 1956.)

African Farm Labour Conditions

The Prisons Department began an investigation in August into allegations that Native convicts had been brutally treated.

Two African workmen told a representative of the *Rand Daily Mail* about conditions under which they had been imprisoned. One said that he was forced to pick mealies from sunrise to sunset each day, without being allowed water, and that he was mercilessly beaten with sticks every day by farm boss boys. The report continued: "The Native, who was arrested for a minor trespassing offence, has cuts on his arm and back, a head injury, festering ankles and a long sore around his hip. These, he says, were caused by blows and ill-treatment and by the chafing sack he was forced to wear and by the strap put around his waist to support a heavy mealie sack. He said he had been arrested by the Railway Police for trespassing when he took a short cut not far from the Bantu Sports Ground, Johannesburg. He was convicted at Cleveland and fined £4 with the alternative of 40 days' imprisonment.

He had only eight shillings. This was taken away and he was told the money would shorten his sentence by a few days.

After a few days in the Fort, a European farmer took him, and about five other Natives, to his farm 50 miles from Johannesburg. . . . There were 50 or 60 other prisoners all locked in a concrete room and the conditions were very bad. The man said he received about 20 blows a day from the boss boys who were long-term convicts."

The conditions of farm labourers in the Bethal area¹ have been in the news again.

It has now been reported that special compounds exist for African women and young girls because the farmers can no longer get workers so easily from the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Two African journalists—Tennison Makiwane and Gert Sibande—visited some of the compounds and said that in one 19 women slept. They were the usual disgraceful barracks; smoke-filled when fires are made inside them, mud floors, no beds. The women's wages range from £1 to £2. 5s. a month and they were on a six months' contract. . . . (*New Age*, October 11, 1956.)

Assaults on Non-Europeans

A man who threw a brick at an elderly Native, which knocked him unconscious, was convicted in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court of assault with intent to do grievous harm. The man, who was a railway shunter, was fined £25, or alternatively two months' imprisonment, by the magistrate. (*Rand Daily Mail*, September, 1956.)

A seventeen-year-old youth and a twenty-two-year-old man were each fined £7.10s. for assaulting a middle-aged Native.

Two Europeans were both fined £12 (or 15 days) in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court for assaulting an African. The African said that he was crossing the road when a car turned across his path. He jumped aside to avoid it and told the driver to be more careful. One man left the car and hit him on the side of the face with his fist, the other kicked him in the ribs. As he fell, one of the accused stamped on his face and he became unconscious. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November, 1956.)

The evidence of two policemen attached to the Flying Squad in Johannesburg was severely criticized by Mr. J. O. P. de Villiers in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court. The magistrate referred to their version of an incident as "a made-up story".

¹Since 1945 there have been convictions of farmers and foremen for assault on labourers, and reports by the Rev. Michael Scott, the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Drum* have been published on conditions there.

One of the men, who was charged with assaulting a Native milk delivery boy, was found guilty. He was sentenced to a fine of £10, with the alternative of 15 days' imprisonment with compulsory labour. The fine was paid.

A Johannesburg magistrate, Mr. M. S. Vermaak, rebuked two young men—one of them a policeman—for assaulting a Native. He told them: "I consider an inter-racial offence a very serious matter. It is the duty of the courts to see that those who are less privileged obtain justice." Then after saying that he would take into account the fact that the Native had been "cheeky", the magistrate sentenced each of the men to a fine of £5, with alternative of 10 days' imprisonment. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November, 1956.)

At the Nationalist Party Congress in September, a resolution was passed which asked that more leniency be allowed to police officers who resorted to physical violence where the circumstances warrant it. One speaker said the resolution did not plead for cruelty or discourtesy by police officers. These were always to be most strongly frowned on. But the police were only human and had often to put up with the strongest provocation. If a policeman so far forgot himself as to strike a Non-European he was subjected to severe penalties and dismissed from the force. He asked that more patience be exercised in such cases and that first offenders be given a warning.

The Paramount Chief of Zululand Arrested

The *Golden City Post* (October 7, 1956) reported that Paramount Chief Cyprian, King of the Zulus, his Queen and four members of the Royal household were arrested in Durban, charged with being without a pass under the curfew regulations. They were ordered to a police station and fined, despite his protest that he was the Paramount Chief and exempted from passes. Later the Durban police commandant personally apologized and refunded the fine.

The Chief at the time was a guest of honour at the Durban Festival of Arts.

Subsequently, when the Paramount Chief and his household visited Johannesburg for the Festival, his aunt was arrested and imprisoned for a night because she had no pass. Police refused to believe her when she told them who she was, and again the police had to apologize.

Statements of Religious Leaders

The curse of European South Africa had been its attempt to make the Non-Europeans feel inferior, said the Rev. William Illsley, president of the conference of the Methodist Church in South Africa.

The policy of *apartheid*, from which stemmed all the discriminatory Acts of this and previous Governments, had contaminated the South African climate with a range of deadly evils, varying from common, cruel discourtesies to the denial of basic human rights. (*Johannesburg Star*, October 22, 1956.)

The Dean of Pretoria, the Very Rev. F. A. Amooore, wrote in his parish magazine: "None of us will be very comfortable at the Day of Judgment if we have to admit that we did only the very minimum, and that grudgingly, and from purely self-interested motives, for those whom Christ calls his brethren."

While there was education and free school-feeding for all White people, Natives had to make the dreadful choice between education and feeding for a small minority and education with no school-feeding for a majority. Therefore the poorest had now no school-feeding, so that more schools for Natives could be built.

Plans were being set afoot all over the country to uproot from their homes and businesses thousands of people in the interests of racial zoning. The pledges and promises of the past cannot be so

lightly disregarded by a country which calls itself civilized. (*Pretoria News*, October, 1956.)

More than 1,300 religious sects were "running riot" among the African people and this reflected the dire spiritual need of the Africans, the Rev. John Poorter, of Durban, said at the annual assembly of the Baptist Union of South Africa in East London. This was a challenge to the Christian.

"I know full well how tempted we are to think that national problems can only be solved by the politician or the sociologist. Many times some of us have been tempted to enter these fields in the hope of accomplishing some betterment.

"But deep down in our hearts we are persuaded that ultimately the deepest needs of the human heart are met only in Christ." South Africa was in desperate need of individuals and small groups of people of sure faith and goodwill to do the rescue work that was required. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 12, 1956.)

Appeal Court Upholds Senate Act

The Appeal Court dismissed with costs the Senate Act appeal. . . . The Government won the case by a ten to one majority, which means that the Senate is validated and all its legislation enforceable. It also means that the parliamentary and provincial representation of the Cape Coloured community will be on a separate voters' roll and no longer on a common roll with Whites. . . . (*The Times*, November 10, 1956.)

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Mr. Strijdom Speaks at Windhoek

THE Prime Minister of the Union, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, opening the Congress of the Nationalist Party of South West Africa, said that the Union Government as a sovereign power regarded South West Africa as an integral part of South Africa and it was the policy of the Nationalist Government that the bonds between the Union and South West should constantly be made tighter and not looser. To report to the U.N.O., as the United Party wanted, would only have the result of making S.W.A. the prey of the Michael Scotts and Father Huddlestons of the world. People who wanted S.W.A. to be placed under U.N.O. supervision and eventually to gain independence from U.N.O., should realize that power and control would not be given to the Whites but to Michael Scott's people, the Ovambos, the Hereros, the Damaras, the Hottentots and Bushmen. (*Die Suidwester*, September 5, 1956.)

Police Assault on African

In finding a 19-year-old European constable guilty of assault of a non-European, the Assistant Magistrate of Windhoek, said: "I have seriously considered sentencing you to a thrashing. This type of action does not improve the feelings between the Police and general public, especially towards the Non-Europeans." Ellis was sentenced to pay a fine of £10 or serve 10 days' imprisonment with hard labour, half suspended for three years on condition he is not found guilty of a similar offence.

The Assistant Magistrate added: "The Police are looked up to by the public. They should assist the public. Wide publicity has been given to this kind of offence by the Press and a warning was issued recently in the High Court that this type of offence will be considered as serious by the Courts." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, September 11, 1956.)

OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

General

Egyptian Aims in Africa

A SPECIAL correspondent in *The Times* (October 2, 1956) wrote of "a detailed programme for the assumption by Egypt of leadership of the African continent suggested in an article in *The Egyptian Economic and Political Review* (August 1956).¹ The article is anonymous, but, *The Times* said, probably represents Government policy.

Egypt, it states, has no imperialistic ambitions or self-interest in view, but all its efforts are devoted to supporting the weak and enslaved peoples, so that they may be strengthened and gain the right of self-determination. Egypt has therefore to plan its African policy on the basis of "Africa for the Africans", and to direct this policy to the liberation of Africa from foreign influence.

A network of consular services should be established throughout Africa. Diplomatic envoys will be expected "calmly to execute the new African policy". Broadcasting services should be strengthened to include the various African languages and dialects; and help for the African peoples by Egyptian missions of experts in science, religion, politics, economics, commerce, and social services. Egypt must accept the largest possible number of natives of African countries to be educated in Egypt, and should invite leaders of the peoples of Africa to visit Egypt. An annual African conference should be held in Cairo, and an airline crossing the continent from north to south with subsidiary lines to the east and west, using Egyptian aircraft, should be established. The foundation of an institute of African studies, with the particular objective of studying "the imperialistic methods which have enabled some European states to maintain their hold on these regions", is suggested and the utilization of the United Nations as a "pulpit" to defend Egypt's African policy.

Sudan

Causes of the South Sudan Mutiny

THE report of the Commission of Inquiry into the disturbances in Southern Sudan in August 1955 says that it must be borne in mind that there is little in common between northern and southern Sudanese; that for historical reasons the southerners regard the northerners as their traditional enemies; that British administrative policy until 1947 was one of separation between the two parts; that for political, financial, geographical and economic reasons northern Sudan progressed, while southern Sudan lagged far behind; and that all these factors combined did not create in the southern Sudanese a feeling of common citizenship with the north nor of patriotism to the Sudan as a whole, and only local tribal loyalties remained.

The seven causes for the disturbances were:

- (1) Distribution of a forged telegram alleged to have been sent by the then Prime Minister, Ismail el Azhari, in July 1955, ordering oppression of southerners.
- (2) Loss of confidence due to interference by some administrators in Equatoria in political affairs.
- (3) Loss of confidence due to farcical trial of a southern member of Parliament.

¹A semi-official journal published in Cairo.

(4) Incidents at Nzara at the end of July (when troops fired on a southern mob looting shops).

(5) Inaction when the conspiracy was discovered, and misjudgement of the situation in Torit in the days immediately before the mutiny.

(6) Extreme disappointment and frustration of southerners as a result of Sudanization and consequent fear of political domination.

(7) Circulation of false and exaggerated rumours and a corresponding lack of effective Government propaganda to allay fears.

The Minister of the Interior, in publishing the report, has omitted two sections, dealing, it is understood, with blame on individuals. (*The Times*, October 20, 1956.)

Mission to Equatoria

The Sudanese Government has sent the Minister of Public Works, Mr. Benjamin Lwoki, president of the "Southern Liberal party", on a mission to the Equatoria province in the south.

His mission is to explain to the tribal chiefs and to sultans the policy of the Khartoum Government toward the southern provinces, and to obtain the co-operation of the local chiefs in handing over to the authorities the groups of former soldiers of the Equatoria corps who are still . . . forming rebel bands near the Congo and the Uganda frontiers.

Reprisals carried out by the police against the villages which sheltered them have aroused criticism among Khartoum political circles and angered the southern population. Mr. Lwoki hopes to gain the co-operation of local authorities in an effort to re-establish order and security in the south. (*Agence France-Presse*, October 12, 1956.)

Border Mutiny

Six people were killed on the Sudan-Uganda border in a renewed outbreak of disturbances by mutineers of the Sudanese Defence Force. Reports from the Sudan said the mutineers had crossed into Uganda. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 20, 1956.)

Egyptian Arms

Egypt has sent a shipload of armoured cars, field and anti-aircraft guns, machine-guns, rifles and ammunition to Sudan. The announcement described the arms as a gift. With the shipment went a military mission. (*The Times*, October 5, 1956.)

French Africa

African Minister Explains Reforms

M. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, a native of the Ivory Coast, and a Senior Minister of the French Government, made an important speech explaining the effects and limitations of the new basic law¹ in political, economic and administrative reform of the French overseas territories.

He said: "The introduction of Governmental Councils, composed at least of a majority of members appointed by the Assembly, will mark a new stage. These members ought not to be only specialized Chairmen with advisory power, but real executives of the departments which will be entrusted to them. They will have to administer realistically, according to the deliberations of the Assembly, their respective sections of activities, while the top level officers, working under the authority of the Governor, will become, henceforward, their technical advisers. In this way, as far as local affairs are concerned, the scope of which will have been clearly defined in the first place, an executive is being created.

We must simplify, and at the same time as we give each territory

¹DIGEST IV, 2.

the sense of its own personality, and give them absolute responsibility over local powers, we must do away with the superstructures of guardianship, which were created on the basis of a purely administrative set-up. The basic law also foresees the introduction of rural districts with councils. Along this line nothing has been done up till now and the mass of peasants, who in fact represent 90 per cent of our population, have hardly at all been drawn into the political evolution."

Referring to the economic implications of the new policy, M. Houphouet-Boigny said that in addition to agriculture, industries must be founded. At a time when the problem of the integration of France in a common expanded European market is being considered, the overseas territories must begin, or confirm, their evolution towards the modern economy which will allow them, too, to profit to the greatest extent from this new institution. He added that safety measures ought to be taken before the overseas territories joined with the Mother Country in a common market, for the interests of the Metropolitan producers and industrialists, and those of the overseas producers and industrialists, were not always the same. "We must introduce machinery for arbitration. Once decisions have been taken, they will be binding on all, as is the rule in a properly constituted organization."

He advocated a re-casting of the administrative divisions of French Africa, which had been made in other times and other conditions, and asked that the problems of the Sahara be approached in the spirit of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Congress of Negro Writers and Artists

Under the sponsorship of the *Presence Africaine*, a French African literary journal, the first World Congress of Negro Writers and Artists was held at the Sorbonne in Paris. The seventy intellectuals of the Negro world came from the British, French, Belgian and Portuguese territories in Africa, as well as from the United States, the West Indies, the Antilles, and Haiti.

Papers included "The Spirit and Laws of African Culture" by Sedar Senghor (Senegal); "Unity and Dynamism of African Culture" by K. Busia (Gold Coast); "African Cultural Dynamism in Non-African Countries" by J. Price-Mars (Haiti); "The Colonial Factor" by A. Cesaire (Martinique); "The Racist Factor" by P. Blackman (Barbados); "The National Factor" by Richard Wright (U.S.A.); "Towards a Universalist Culture" by A. Diop (Senegal).

The Colonial correspondent of *The Observer* (September 30, 1956), commented: "Because of the peculiar distribution of the Negro peoples and because the majority of Negro States are not yet independent, the method of organizing this bloc is significantly different from that of the Bandung Conference and the Arab League. But the purpose of the new movement is essentially the same; it seeks to stimulate the Negro liberation movement for complete independence from Western colonialism, and to strengthen the growth of African nationalism. . . ."

"The initiative has come largely from the French African colonial leaders, many of whom are distinguished poets, novelists and artists. Their approach to the rest of the Negro world is through the creation of a cultural movement as a 'new dimension' in the struggle for African liberation. Many of the leading French colonial politicians have already identified themselves with the Congress."

In his opening address, M. Alioune Diop said: "For 3,000 years African civilization and culture have been interpreted in Europe. This culture is rich and varied. It exists on the African continent, and on the other side of the Atlantic as well. Our aim is not to revive fruitless rancours, but to compare the past with a present full of promise,

for a future of peace and fraternity between men of different races." He concluded: "Our Congress is not a declaration of war to Western culture, but a manifestation of love. We are unanimous in our appreciation of it. But it is necessary that we Black men affirm that we alone can interpret our own culture."

The need for constructive thinking was argued by Mr. George Lamming. It is not enough to condemn colonialism. "What," he asked, "are we going to put in its place when we no longer have the colonial horse to ride?"

The final resolution of the Congress included the following: "We consider that every people has the right to appreciate fully the values of its national culture—history, language, literature, art, etc., and to benefit from training and education in the medium of its own culture. Our Congress regrets the involuntary absence of a delegation from South Africa. Our Congress notes with satisfaction the progress made during the last years in the world, progress which enables us to foresee the general abolition of the colonial system, as well as the final and universal liquidation of racism. Our Congress, which pays homage to the cultures of all lands, and appreciates their contribution to the progress of civilization, requests all black intellectuals to defend, to demonstrate and to make known in the world the national values of their peoples."

AMERICA & AFRICA

Increasing Recognition of Africa's Importance

THE American State Department has announced that it has reorganized and strengthened its African section "in recognition of the increasing importance of Africa in world affairs". There will be separate offices for Northern and for Southern African Affairs. Hitherto Africa has been included in the Department's Bureau of Near Eastern, South-Asian and African Affairs. Usually reliable sources have said that eventually the State Department plans to "promote" Africa to the point at which there will be a completely separate bureau of African affairs with an assistant secretary responsible only to the Secretary of State. (*Tanganyika Standard*, September 12, 1956.) Mr. George V. Allen, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, outlining American policy towards Africa and the Western World, said: "A responsible foreign policy toward Africa requires of the United States a deep understanding of the aspirations and problems of the individual African countries both in their relationships with the European Powers and in their urge toward self-determination, so that we may lend our good offices and assistance in promoting an orderly progress toward independence and manhood. . . .

"No one but a demagogue would deny that basic advantages were brought to the African territories by European Powers. In fact, the impetus toward modern nationhood grew out of African contacts with the liberal thought of Western civilization. Furthermore, in the course of this relationship . . . there grew up interlocking economic relations, the violent disruption of which would seriously weaken both Africa and Europe. A sudden break of these lifelines would create conditions of political and economic instability most harmful to all concerned. . . .

"In the light of experience which the U.S. is undergoing domestically in developing harmonious race relations, I think it behoves us to approach the problem of race elsewhere in the world in all humility. Relations between people of different races living together in multi-racial States involve deep-seated emotions and prejudices which can be overcome only gradually. . . .

"The problem is infinitely complicated in Africa by the presence of a few groups (some Colonial administrators and industrialists) who wield political and economic power, but are not otherwise identified with the country and people among whom they live. This tends to confuse the issue of racialism with questions of political, economic, social and cultural discrimination, and makes the approach to a solution of the problem more difficult. . . .

"Again it behoves us, while preserving our adherence to our basic principle of racial equality, to attempt to exert a moderating influence upon the extremists of both sides and to oppose those who are exploiting these tensions for their ulterior purposes." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, September 20, 1956.)

African Labour Leader Visits America

Mr. Tom Mboya, Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, recently visited the U.S.A. under the auspices of the American Committee on Africa.¹ *Africa Today* (September/October 1956) describing his visit said: "Since his arrival in New York Mr. Mboya has met labour leaders, church groups, businessmen, politicians, State Department officials, and important members of the United Nations Secretariat, as well as U.N. delegates. Twice he has appeared on coast-to-coast television." Mr. Mboya visited many American cities and universities.

Petition to American Ambassador at UN

The American Committee on Africa is distributing a petition addressed to the U.S. Ambassador at the United Nations, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, protesting against the Group Areas Act in South Africa. The petition strongly condemns the doctrine of *apartheid* "as a substantive and moral violation of the Charter of the United Nations". It calls upon Mr. Lodge to move for the establishment of a new Commission of the General Assembly to investigate the situation.

Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa

An organization known as "The Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa"² has been formed. This includes laymen who aim to inform Church people and others in the U.S.A. of events in South Africa, and to help in every way possible the Church of the Province of South Africa to continue its ministry to the African people and others affected by *apartheid*. A news sheet is published regularly and books are being sent to Anglican dioceses, parishes, and family centres in South Africa.

COLONIAL AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

Labour Party Conference

A SPECIFIC pledge was given at the Labour Party Annual Conference that the next Labour Government would direct all colonial governments to remove all administrative and statutory discriminations except those expressly designed to protect underprivileged racial groups, ensuring that ultimately all racial discrimination would be abolished.

The two main conclusions reached were that ultimately the people of each colonial territory had the right to determine which particular

¹4 West 40th Street, New York City 18.

²115 East 74th Street, New York 21.

form of constitution—perhaps some entirely new form—best suited their requirements; and that the best way of giving each colony an opportunity of deciding what form of constitution they desired was to provide for the election of representatives by universal adult suffrage on the principle of "one person, one vote".

Resolutions accepted included those urging the immediate appointment of an independent judicial commission of inquiry "into the severe and brutal punishments imposed on Non-European men, women, and children in Kenya", and stating that grants in aid to the colonies should be considerably increased; that the national executive and Parliamentary Labour Party should investigate the relationship between the Colonial Office and Parliament with a view to making such reforms as were necessary to ensure a satisfactory standard in the administration of justice throughout the colonies; that more positive support should be given to the United Nations specialized agencies; and that further steps should be taken to set up a United Nations organization to deal with international restrictive practices and monopolies.

Mr. Griffiths in replying to the debate said the Party was pledged to devoting 1 per cent of the national income each year to economic aid in the Colonies and the underdeveloped areas. (*The Times*, October 5, 1956.)

"The Expanding Commonwealth"

The Conservative Political Centre published a pamphlet by

fifteen Conservative Members of Parliament entitled "The Expanding Commonwealth", expressing the view that "The Commonwealth partnership of Kingdoms and Republics is better suited to our dangerous and contracted world than any supranational or federal system. It has only to develop its resources to match the power of the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. . . .

"An expanding Commonwealth could associate Britain's European neighbours in the development of Commonwealth, French Union and other territories in Africa and Asia and reconcile the races. This association could be advanced in many ways, such as closer trade and payments arrangements between the members of the Sterling Area and of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, and through the Colombo plan. An expanding Commonwealth could generate capital to develop home and overseas resources, promote trade, achieve a sound balance of payments and furnish the sinews of defensive and diplomatic power." (*Survey of Commonwealth Affairs*, October, 1956.)

Anglo-Liberian Society Founded

Under the leadership of Mr. James Johnson, Labour M.P., and Colonel John Tilney, Tory M.P., the inaugural meeting of the newly formed Anglo-Liberian Society was held in the House of Commons. The object of the Society is to strengthen the economic and cultural ties between Liberia and Britain. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 1, 1956.)

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

THE Executive Committee issued a Press statement on the Suez crisis in which they said: "The British Commonwealth has stood as a bastion of freedom and justice in the world. Its very existence has depended upon the strength of its peoples' convictions that they have stood for these things against aggression and tyranny. It was out of this resistance that the United Nations organization was born. The present British Government has now assumed the right to decide on its own course of action when it considers its own interests at stake. By its arbitrary actions in vetoing the U.N. Security Council's resolutions, and committing an act of armed aggression, it has set an example of lawlessness and international anarchy which may destroy the Commonwealth and other people's attempts to build a civilized world . . . its action will have very serious repercussions in Africa and Asia."

The Rev. Michael Scott has addressed meetings on the Suez crisis in London, Richmond and Slough.

A Conference with Africa Councils from Birmingham, Cambridge, Cardiff, Darlington, Glasgow, Rugby, Sheffield, and the West Riding was held on October 27. Mr. Philip Fothergill was in the chair and Fr. Trevor Huddleston attended part of the meeting. The Africa Bureau's general policy statement (see *DIGEST* III, 8) was unanimously adopted in principle, and the Kenya Policy statement (*DIGEST* IV, 2), with a few minor amendments, was also adopted. Policy with regard to the Central African Federation and the High Commission Territories was discussed.

Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R., has addressed mass meetings in Sheffield, and in Leeds, and with Lord Hemingford, was in a B.B.C. Television programme with Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge and Mr. Laurens van der Post.

The Rev. Michael Scott has addressed meetings on Africa in Swansea, Cardiff, Plymouth, Coventry, Durham, and Liverpool. Mr. Scott will be attending the General Assembly of the United Nations on behalf of the Herero, Nama and Berg Damara tribes in South West Africa. Africa Councils have been formed in Durham and Coventry.

Miss Harriet Cohen is giving a pianoforte recital on behalf of the Africa Bureau in the Guildhall, Cambridge, on the evening of January 27, and in the Oxford Town Hall on the evening of February 21.

A meeting was arranged for Mr. Julius Nyerere, President of the Tanganyika African National Union, to meet representatives of organizations.

A memorandum submitted by Mr. H. D. Chipembere, Member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council, to the Colonial Secretary was circulated on his behalf by the Bureau (see Nyasaland section of this *DIGEST*).

The Director made a grant from a fund held on his behalf in New York to help towards Mr. Tom Mboya's travelling expenses in the U.S.A. (see America and Africa section).

A number of discussions took place with Mr. Dixon Konkola, President of the N. Rhodesian T.U.C., and of the Rhodesian African Railway Workers' Union, concerning the present position in Northern Rhodesia.

Background papers on South West Africa and the United Nations, and on South Africa and the United Nations were prepared for Africa Councils, and a few copies are still available for anyone wishing to apply.

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents.

